

WHO'S AFRAID OF NAOMI WOLF?

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

DECEMBER 6, 1993 \$2.95

THE
GAELIC
MUSIC REVIVAL

Maclean's

ALL FIRED UP

.....
**A LEANER BREED IN
THE OILPATCH BUCKS
THE CYCLE OF
BOOM AND BUST**



Calgary Oilman Grant Billing

Ultimately, there's Black.

Maclean's

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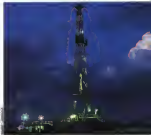
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70 An American author criticizes what she calls "victim feminism," with an emphasis on women's helplessness and his right ideology. And she urges the leaders of the women's movement—as well as other women who support the goal of equality but reject the feminist label—to forge alliances and pursue political power.



An Oilfield Parable

The following is a guest editorial by Executive Editor Carl McLean, who will soon take up his post as *Maclean's* Washington Editor.

Speaking of Alberta and oil, as we have been at *Maclean's* in preparing this week's cover stories, the editorial staff a flood of anecdotes coming on. They often parallel to the current surge of activity in the oilpatch, perhaps a possible on the fringe nature of an industry where good fortune may easily turn to bad. They focus on two Canadian oilfield entrepreneurs of Alberta 40 years ago, men who still share memories of several life encounters with the land of the big sky, big mountains, big oil and big risks. That those initial experiences endure as partly because they were absorbed in, partly on a break from school that appeared the better part of four years later. But it is also because the experience happened in boom times, only six years after a path of black gold from Leduc No. 1, a half-hour's drive south of Edmonton, truly launched Alberta as its resource in oil. The promise was rambunctiously alive with risk-taking and roughness—and the promise of work.

It was the work as well as the adventure that lured the student entrepreneurs to the province, the oilfield energies that would cover the next decade's initial boom, with mad dash to open. The first meeting with the Alberta spirit of 1950 took place in Saskatchewan at a crossroads gas station, somewhere west of Swift Current during a rainless naptime. It was embodied in Jack, who turned out to be an Alberta alumnus. His big new looking Chrysler was the only transport in



Boys'heads at work: a summer alive with risk-takers

view. A relief Jack was blunt, he was suffering the afterpains of three days of belching down in the States, he had to be in Edmonton tomorrow (300 pre-electric miles away), and what he wanted, after first visiting one of his drilling sites down the highway, was a driver, not a passenger. The wannabe-looking Chrysler owner forced the father, equipped only with an Ontario driver's license and not much experience, into a white lie.

Jack's impetuous manner spared the father front exposure. Impetuously turning the Chrysler off a muddy concession road and rolling across an open field in twilight to reach his oil rig before dark, Jack wheeled the battery of the car as a lever and stuck the standard transmission in second gear. What's more, the drill crew was pulling pipe because they were on a dry hole. Jack shrugged off commentaries as the father took over the wheel, he'd drill every year, and there were lots

to buy a new Chrysler, as he did every year, to find oil.

In Edmonton the father-driver quickly learned firsthand how loose can turn to bust in the oil business. He loaded an oilfield job holding together prefabricated tanks to hold the crude pumped from surrounding drill sites. It was hot, hard to, but not as hard as an early oilfield work on the oil platforms, and it paid well. However, because of wet weather that kept heavy equipment off the fields, the work dried up. He spent the rest of the summer at the end of the petroleum business, getting, getting and getting. Jack's lesson: It paid the bill, but that's all that it was worth a while later in experience.



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S A F A R I



THE NEW MEN'S FRAGRANCE BY RALPH LAUREN

A way with words

Barbara Ansel is bewitched by my attempt to pin "mental illness" on the young Conrad Black, "who grew up to become her husband and a prince on my radio program 'Conquering to be conquerable about.'" (Nov. 12) Black writes in *A Life in Progress* that for 10 years he suffered from attacks of obsessive fear. In our interview, he was eager to describe his anxiety attacks as a disorder rather than as flaws. I could find no one at the Clarke Institute, where he was seen, who could tell me the difference. Ansel, in her own autobiography, *Confessions*, writes of her addiction to cocaine. She might be described as he described me as recovered "drug addict," but there it is. Black was ill, mentally. Or, as the language would have it, mentally ill. That she should tell the most delicate lies from being "pinned" with this tag tells us much about how far she has to go to shake the appearance of mental illness.

Andy Rowe,
CFRB Radio,
Toronto

If the federal government is ever inclined to take Barbara Ansel's advice and set free to Canada's social programs, it needs to keep one thing in mind: the dollars spent by slandering individual leaders' paymasters and other benefits will be offset by higher social costs—more joblessness, ill health, hunger, poverty, human misery. These costs will be paid, as usual, by the working people struggling week to week and living far less comfortable lives than Ansel tells you on its own claim about high Canadian labor costs strangling the "producers of wealth." Are the millions of people who serve the needs of the classes, feed the sick, build the roads and do all the countless chores that keep a civil society functioning merely penny-wise measures who have the effrontery to beg a larger wage from their placateable leaders? Ansel needs to remember that the producers of wealth won't be waiting for long if workers can't afford to buy anything. Economic fairness is bad for business.

Jon Dufres,
Ansel, Wash

I tried myself to sleep last night—after having read Barbara Ansel's column. Fortunately, I realized that had the world's leaders recognized the economic genius of Ansel there would be no bedtimes, national deficits. The poor die helpless and the sick would be written off, then there would be no more federal government spending and starving



Black with Ansel for 10 years, suffering from attacks of obsessive fear

tourism. Why couldn't I have thought of that? But then, what can one only expert of "conquerable citizens who don't read, don't think, don't want to live easily?"

Leo Ravitsbach,
Catherine, Sask

Sombre mood

Where I live the mood is sabbatic since Jean Chretien announced the cancellation of the M-167 helicopter project ("A crash landing," *Gems*, Nov. 18). It is tragic that this province is being kept at the expense of those who volunteer their lives to serve, protect and rescue people in need. This decision, besides placing members of the Canadian Armed Forces at greater risk as they attempt to respond to assignments, increases the potential risk to the public due to inadequate resources. It is obvious that military personnel who are not permitted to voice their opinions with regard to government policy have been marginalized by their military and political superiors. Politics wins over logic, and at whose expense?

Leslie Ann Stephen,
Amble, N.S.

Critical condition

I commend Maclean's in recognizing the important role and the critical situation of postsecondary education in Canada ("A measure of excellence," *Covers/Special Report*, Nov. 15). However, I would caution anyone

who relies such education only in terms of "employability." University education contributes to society in many ways: research, technology, fine arts, international relations and critical analysis can enhance the lives of individuals and the entire country. We will reap these benefits by increasing accessibility to higher education—and by making post-secondary education a priority item—before it's too late.

Lorette Giesek,
Vice-president, academic,
University of Regina Students' Union,
Regina

I believe accountability has been missing at the university system. Little public discussion on specific programs or departments is available. I have known students to choose a field of study only to discover the professor they wished to work with was not interested in directing graduate work. During my own graduate program, I found that a number of my dissertation committee was vindictive, self-serving and never met a deadline. I spent much time and energy second-guessing her so that my final deadlines could be met. This professor's delusions were well-known at the university, but were not a matter of record. I would hope that some system is put in place so that information about irresponsible behavior on the part of a professor can be made available. I am now an assistant professor and would welcome such an external review.

B. Jane Fox,
Assistant professor, School of Human
Communication Disorders,
Delaware University,
Halifax

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Thank you for your help. Joining together for answers

ANOTHER VIEW



The future's cry: a place to stand

BY CHARLES GORDON

A Canadian stood at the supermarket checkout counter, looking uncomfortable and not knowing why. He was just back from three weeks on the Pacific shore, including a week in Indonesia. Maybe that was it, the sudden awareness of the vast, unmeasured choice open to him as a Canadian was giving him grief. Perhaps as he regarded the mass of stuff he had placed on the conveyor belt.

But no. That couldn't be it. He'd been in a Jakarta shopping centre. There was wealth there, too. What was bothering him was something else. The cashier still over two dining stools, and five Canadian eagerly seated one and placed it between his groceries and the groceries of the person ahead of him. The person behind grabbed the other stick and did likewise. The Canadian felt better.

So that was it. Space. The cashier didn't tip back and sit; he kept our staff separate, keeping our distance. The need for space is a defining national characteristic.

Space is what we crave when we travel. It's in the heart of Dorset in it is at sea. There are many people on the road who are used to, more people on the sidewalk, more people crowded into restaurants and airports, more people along the side of the road. When we return, one of our half-empty airports condemned by Canadians at home as a white elephant, we are glad to be there, glad to be able to walk in a straight line for 10 minutes without having to judge someone else.

Each view of the world outside adds to the realization of how precious space is. It also leads to the realization that we are going to have to learn how to share it.

During our rural Indonesian road, the roadside packed with walking people, the road jammed with bicycles, buses, dogs, chickens and motorcycles, a Canadian thinks. How can you stand it? Walking beside 12 lanes of crammed, noisy and polluted down-

The world is not going to become less populated, and the countries with space will attract those who inhabit countries without it

town streets in Jakarta—cramped, noisy and polluted at two in the afternoon—a Canadian thinks. I know a place where there's less of room for you.

Space makes us a more relaxed people. It is a quality we share with the Australians. Watch the tightly packed lineup at the gate in Hong Kong before even pre-boarding is an experience. Compare it with the situation in Toronto, where nobody moves before the pre-boarding call. Compare that to the situation in Brisbane, where nobody moves even then.

We know, and the Australians know, that there is space for all of us, that there is no rush. Space is in the national mythology. We live the idea of North, the Australians have the idea of the Outback. In both cases, there is the somewhat conflicting notion of a vast, unpopulated area.

In the world of international travel, the idea of North is analogous to the dream of the Utopians—in that heavenly world of Brains Canada where there is no rush and only seven seats across where Economy has 90. Even if we are never upgraded, the idea helps us to endure.

And if we are upgraded, we are more strongly impressed with how dehumanized

is the world back there in the cheap seats. People are wedged into seats that, if they are wide enough for their hips, are not wide enough for their shoulders. Their elbows contact with the elbows of their neighbors in the aisles. Those on the inside cannot get up from their seats without forcing their neighbors to get up from theirs. Their knees rub with the midline seat backs of those in front of them. Their voices give away opportunities for the resentment of their fellow people. Then, conversely, people are forced to wrestle open top plastic packets of food and drink. Later, they are depressed of the outside light in order that a tiny movie can be shown. They are passengers, something like human beings but smaller.

When the plane sets down in Canada, we can expand, to human size. When the plane sets down in most other countries, we remain squeezed, watching the aisles congregate by others for the space available. It is not an intimacy we are used to. In Canada, if we need to squeeze into traffic, someone will slow down and let us in. In Indonesia, it won't happen. If a driver yields for one car, 100 others will suit themselves of the opportunity, until the traffic jams into the traffic, forcing someone else to hit the brakes.

Interestingly enough, no one gets annoyed by this. There is no disturbance, no complaint. It is accepted that the game is played this way. There is no space and people adjust to it by crowding in to what's available. Canadians, made edgy by the lack of a dividing stick at the supermarket, do not adjust so easily. We live at leisure, look forward to those who face us in slow down, and those at people who spread their wings to close to us—who we see as a threat. When we are forced to share our space, we are inevitably resentful, the adjustment will be difficult.

But the adjustment is necessary. Even a fleeting glimpse at the Jakarta traffic conveys the idea that something has to give. The world is not going to become any less populated and the countries with space—even cold countries with space—will attract those who inhabit countries without it. We won't be able to make the adjustment, as will we not to an appreciation of our space and what it means to us. That appreciation will help us realize that the lack of space means to others.

In the meantime, the big cities keep getting bigger, space included, and there is the question of whether Jakarta represents an aberration of the natural and inevitable consequences of urban growth. Whatever the answer, it is at least clear that making streets wider doesn't solve much.

Inevitably we will be sharing more of our space. We can learn to be less defensive about our space and we can teach newcomers to develop a more Canadian attitude towards it. That way we can avoid crowding each other.

What the world needs is to stretch on a little. Taking some of that Brains Canada space and spreading it around would help.

UP IN SMOKE

Houses in the old eastern Ontario mill town have been sprayed with antitobacco warnings. Banners have ripped through the doors of the city's recreation centre, and in October a shopping mall was bombed. Last week, just as things were settling down in Cornwall, a powerful blast devastated the mall again—the fire came directly outside the building. While the RCMP were still investigating, Mayor Ronald Mercille said that he has no doubt that the building was blown up by vigilante smugglers involved in Canada's \$2-billion-a-year illegal cigarette trade—much of it centred in the Cornwall area, which is bordering on Quebec and New York state. In an effort to

HOW CANADA'S ILLEGAL TOBACCO MARKET HAS SOARED

In reprints of cartons

stop the violence. "People have to realize that when they buy a smuggled cigarette they are supporting organized crime."

The smuggling police have allies with black market cigarettes—which in 1994 a pack are well below the legal price of roughly \$6.50—shows no sign of abating. According to RCMP officials, half the cigarettes being consumed in some parts of the country are illegal and demand is climbing by the day. In fact, last week officials said that tobacco smuggling now costs the federal and provincial governments almost \$2 billion a year in taxes that they would have collected on legal cigarettes in response, police and customs officers are bringing up anti-smuggling operations across the country. A four-man task force at RCMP and Ontario Provincial Police offices is now patrolling a stretch of the St. Lawrence River at



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Cornwall. RCMP Sgt. Jean Laurance said that, in October, the task force confiscated 55.3 million worth of cigarettes. And following a meeting of an Ontario legislative committee that investigated the problem, Finance Minister Floyd Laframboise said that even more police may have to be deployed. They could be busy. Still, Laurance said, "You could see cigarettes all day, every day."

Now, when politicians are adding their voices to Quebec's controversial suggestion that tobacco taxes be cut, The illegal trade is particularly active in Quebec, where nearly a third of all cigarettes consumed are illegal. That raised the province's treasury of more than \$200 million in 1992—and those figures are sure to be higher. As a result, Quebec Revenue Minister Raymond Savard says that he wants to defer cut the smuggling by cutting 75 cents in provincial tax from a pack of cigarettes. A pack of 25 cigarettes selling in Quebec for about 57 now carries \$2.25 in provincial tax and \$2.50 in federal tax. If Quebec's proposed cut was matched equally by Ottawa, the price of a pack would drop to roughly \$5—close to the illegal price of \$6 to \$4, and enough, says Savard, to cut the smuggling profits sharply. The federal government has not issued an official comment on the issue, but some senior Liberals favor the plan. Denis Boudreau, the Liberals' deputy chief whip and now for the Cornwall area, says that if Glenwright/Prosser/Russell, says that he now believes a tax cut is the only way to attack the problem. "We've lost the war," he says. "We're now in big legal cigarettes than it is legal ones."

High taxes created the market for black-market tobacco in the first place, but cigarette smuggling has been growing steadily since 1980, when Ottawa signed the first of a series of major tax increases on cigarettes. Canadian-made tobacco products that are exported to the United States do not carry the taxes. As a result, the opportunity to make huge amounts of money smuggling Canadian cigarettes back into Canada increased as the domestic price soared. And the Canadian tobacco industry is now

working overtime to meet the demand for export cigarettes—80 per cent of which are smuggled back into Canada, say police. According to Statistics Canada, in the first seven months of 1993, Canadian manufacturers exported 11.2 billion cigarettes, a sharp jump from 7.5 billion in the same period in 1992. Any cut in taxes would be a clear victory for the cigarette makers. But Marcel Desautels, of Montreal-based Imperial Tobacco Ltd., "If governments want to solve the problem, they have to cut tobacco taxes."

But while Quebec wants to lure smokers out of the black market with lower taxes, other provinces are stepping up restrictions on smoking that critics contend will actually increase the consumption of illegal cigarettes.

Quebec last week announced new legislation to restrict the sale of tobacco in vending machines, to drug stores, and to restaurants. Under the new law, 19 health ministers. Ruth Grier says that the new law will reduce smoking but critics say that the measures will actually increase illegal cigarette sales by encouraging smokers to look elsewhere for tobacco. Said Leonard Dornier, president of the Toronto-based Royal Wm. Rogers Association of Canada (Ontario): "Smuggling will increase because the number of legal outlets will be less."

Brokers who now sell them have little trouble finding illegal cigarettes. According to the RCMP, smuggled cigarettes are flooding into Canada at rates bordering on double each year across the country. But the bulk of Canada's smuggled cigarettes are sold legally to wholesalers in New York state. From there, most of the cigarettes are transported to the Algonquin National Reserve, which straddles the American, Ontario and Quebec borders on the St. Lawrence River, opposite Cornwall. Boats laden with cigarettes leave only to cross a low beached foot of water from the reserve to deposit their contraband cargo with buyers waiting along the wooded shoreline. These transactions are not always friendly. Residents of Cornwall often hear gunfire at night, and Mayor Mercille, who calls for action against the smugglers have led to a beheading police presence in the area. No recent death

Canada Notes

JUDGING THE JUDGE

Ontario Court Justice Jean MacFarland ruled that her colleague Judge Walter Hryniak's 56-year-old life should be reviewed from the bench because of his "sexual and demeaning" behavior towards women. MacFarland based an inquiry into allegations that Hryniak had sexually harassed three women, including a former court reporter, who alleged that he had grabbed her buttocks at a 1991 Christmas party with such force that his finger penetrated her vagina. If Ontario Attorney-General Martin Boyd endorses the report, Hryniak will likely be ordered to leave the bench.

AUSTERITY, ALBERTA-STYLE

Alberta's Conservative government is cutting public-sector wages and benefits by five per cent next year and freezing these payments for the following two years. The cuts, which could affect up to 100,000 workers, are part of the Tories' plan to eliminate the \$2.4-billion provincial deficit by 1997.

CHILDREN IN POVERTY

Canada's 2000, a national watchdog coalition set up to monitor child poverty in Canada, said that 1.2 million children were living below the poverty line in 1990—a 20-per-cent increase over 1980, when the House of Commons passed a resolution vowing to eliminate child poverty by the year 2000.

A VICTIM'S ORGANEL

Ottawa agreed to pay \$100,000 in compensation to Shirley Nowell-Reynolds, an Irish rape victim who was taken to hospital after her home in Surrey, B.C., by RCMP officers in August, 1990. She spent the next eight days being taken across the country to testify against her attacker in Inland, N.W.T. The RCMP public relations coordinator refused earlier this year that Nowell-Reynolds' case was at one point placed in the same police van as her assailant—had caused "furious and insensitive" treatment by the force.

SICK KIDS AND AIDS

A spokesman for Canada's largest children's hospital reported that at least one out of every 300 patients who received heart surgery at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children between 1980 and 1993 had been infected by the AIDS virus through contaminated blood. Of 1,306 patients, 1,000 who received heart transplants during that period, 17 are known to have tested positive for AIDS.



1993 STUDENT WRITING CONTEST

Sponsored by The Canadian Council of Teachers of English and Language Arts

First Prize of \$500 CASH

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of Adams Goff Collegiate and Vocational High School, Peterborough, Ontario.

Second Prize of \$350 CASH

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Teresa Ng

of John G. Dielenbaker Senior High School, Calgary, Alberta

Third Prize of \$150 CASH

was awarded to

Joey Burke

of St. Peter's District High School, St. Peter's, Nova Scotia.

CONGRATULATIONS TO THIS YEAR'S WINNERS!

SPECIAL THANKS TO ALL PARTICIPANTS AND TEACHERS WHO ENCOURAGED THEIR STUDENTS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE CONTEST.

Each year, Maclean's In-Class Program sponsors the Student Writing Contest to encourage excellence in writing among secondary school students.

This year's panel of judges included Maclean's Editor Robert Lewis, and Peter Evans, President of the Canadian Council of Teachers of English and Language Arts.

If you would like to be on our mailing list to receive notification of future contests, a copy of this year's winning essay, or more information about Maclean's In-Class Program, please call toll-free from 9 a.m. - 5 p.m. (EST).

1-800-668-1951; (416) 596-5499 in Toronto or fax (416) 599-0901.

CANADA

thinks "These contrabands are the scum of the earth," says the mayor.

From Cornwall, the illegal cigarettes are transported to major cities like Montreal and Toronto. They are then resold to convenience stores and individuals who sell them at \$20 to \$30 a carton—far below the legal price of roughly \$45. The contraband is also transported to other Indian reserves where a booming trade is carried on without police interference. And some native retailers told Maclean's that they believe they are doing a legal business. Sell one native vendor: "Our brokers guarantee us the right to trade. And that's what we are doing."

The contraband tobacco problem is already jeopardizing the new federal government. Solicitor General Herb Gray told Maclean's that he had a wide-ranging discussion on the issue last week with Quebec Public Security Minister Claude Ryan. Gray suggested that governments may well have to cut cigarette taxes to slow the illegal tobacco trade. Gray added, however, that tough action is needed immediately. Said Gray: "I don't think Canadians are ready to accept lawlessness and violence."

After more to cut taxes would bring an immediate outcry from manufacturing groups. Heavy taxes were placed on cigarettes to deter consumption in the first place. And David Swenson, senior legal counsel of the Ottawa-based Non-Smokers' Rights Association (Canada), said tax increases in the 1980s led to a 40-per-cent drop in tobacco use. In fact, he said, each time cigarette prices have jumped by 10 per cent, there has been a corresponding lower-per-cent drop in the number of people who smoke.

According to calculations done by Swenson's group, even if the federal and provincial governments each cut taxes by 75 to 80 per cent, consumption of legal cigarettes would not grow anywhere near enough to compensate for the lost taxes because the grey world will be too large. Instead, anti-smoking groups suggest that Ottawa should encourage the federal and state governments in the United States to raise their taxes. Said Swenson: "If U.S. cigarette taxes should be brought up to world levels."

Experience in other jurisdictions seems to support claims that cutting taxes will not reduce smuggling. The New Brunswick province cut its taxes by 50 cents a pack in 1989. But provincial Finance Minister Allan Maher said the cuts have had little effect. "The impact has been nowhere near enough to match the revenue shortfall," said Maher. In the end, he said, only the good will of Canadians can stop the flow of illegal tobacco. To that end, Maher said, Ottawa and the provinces should launch a nationwide advertising campaign to convince Canadians that smuggling into governments of badly needed revenue. In the meantime, though, federal will likely continue to shelter the night at Cornwall.

TOM PENNELL

Breaking with the NDP

Ontario unions reject the Rae government

As a veteran of demonstrations against the Vietnam War in the late 1960s, it was the kind of guerrilla tactic that Ontario NDP Premier Bob Rae might once have appreciated. At the end of an otherwise peaceful protest outside the Ontario legislature last week, angry members of the Ontario Federation of Labour (OFL) broke through a police barricade and began hammering on the adjacent doors of the building. "We want Rae!" they shouted, as a swelling battery of 70 cameras recorded the scene. "We want Rae!"

Rae was not in the legislature at the time. But the first socialist premier of Canada's most populous province had already flatly rejected the demand that brought about 400 labour activists to his doorstep. Two days earlier, deputies to the annual convention of the OFL, which represents about 800,000 workers, had voted to cut all ties with the provincial NDP unless it accepted full-on socialist social contract legislation. That bill passed in August, outraged labor leaders by freezing wages, forcing workers to take unpaid leave and otherwise lessening employee contracts. The OFL's motive of outrage was far from unanimous: about a third of the 1,500 delegates, most of them from provincial-state unions, boycotted the vote, arguing that, for all its faults, the NDP remains labor's legal political house.

Still, the fact that so many of the people who helped to put Rae into power three years ago are now prepared to help bring him down is a first for the beleaguered premier. Observes Brian Douglas, a political scientist at Waterloo's Wilfrid Laurier University: "This really upsets the NDP at a time when it can least afford it."

Rae's government has staggered since its crisis to recover almost from the moment of its surprise victory in early September, 1990. The NDP quickly earned the scorn of both the business community and key elements of the party faithful. The former viewed with alarm a provincial deficit that now sits at \$2.1 billion in a single year; the latter watched in dismay as Rae abandoned several positions he had championed in campaign. Then, last spring, in a desperate bid to correct the deficit, Rae announced plans to trim \$2 bil-

lion from the government's payroll over each of the next three years. But even that move failed to appease his business critics, two anti-unionist leading sponsors last week cut Ontario's credit rating for the third time in six years.

Following their rebuke last week, Rae expressed the hope that his former labor supporters will eventually realize that the premier's fiscal situation forced his hand on Oct. 18. In an ironic twist, he also sent a speech to a business audience to appeal for support in the election that he must call by



Demands at legislature: "This cripples the NDP!"

1995. Noting that his government has entered into several joint ventures with the private sector, Rae said: "I hope you all remember this in 1995."

The premier may be adopting a walled thinking. Timothy points out that when NDP governments in British Columbia in the 1970s and Saskatchewan in the early 1980s introduced legislation that alienated labor, they failed to gain enough support from anti-unionists to win re-election. At the same time, some Ontario labor leaders are already looking beyond the life of the Rae government. Observes Ed Ryan, Ontario president of the Canadian Union of Public Employees: "We may have to wait until the electorate passes judgment on Bob Rae—and wherever a left belief of the party, will have to rethink all over again."

IRISAN BERGMAN

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The Number Two

Two. It is a number Conservatives keep coming back to even as they argue last week to think how they might revive their party. Two. The square root of four. One and another one. This, the party of John A. Macdonald, with two seats in the House of Commons. Two, Thorne says, is the least-fortunate number after the number 1. In a week that saw Kim Campbell make her first public speech since the federal election, Conservatives were still trying to come to grips with the full extent of their humiliation. Some like Campbell, sure to blacken her name to relieve the pain and embarrassment. "My life has changed a lot since Oct. 25," Campbell told a cheering crowd at a Toronto fundraising dinner. "I'm now driving over on '93's 1990 Honda Civic. It's not doing too badly. It has four seats."

With Campbell's speech, the Conservatives began to pick their heads above the parapets. Before about 1,000 people, Campbell gave the most candid yet better Thorne had anticipated her to give one. "I'm now driving over on '93's 1990 Honda Civic. It's not doing too badly. It has four seats."

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The Conservatives try to come to grips with the full extent of their humiliation

nine years, Campbell said she wants to stay to help make things better. And she suggested that she will remain as leader at least until June, when a special convention on re-electing the party is expected to report.

But no one is predicting that Campbell will stay much beyond that. Campbell herself told *Maclean's* that while she has not made any final decisions, it is unlikely she will be there to fight the next election. "I am aware of the realities as much as anyone," she said. "So while she was in the public spotlight last week, the backroom boys were the men she best fit for the leadership in June. Jean Charest, who holds one of the party's two seats, representing his home town of Sherbrooke in Quebec's Eastern Townships, returned from a Florida holiday to intense pressure to come in the next Conservative caucus. The party veterans say that Charest is getting conflicting advice—with some friends saying that he would be better off resigning his seat to make a career in the private sector, while the Tories want him to stay. Conservative Senate leader Lowell Murray says such a departure at the party's hour of need would be a mistake. "I'd be down," said Murray, "unless there's no party for him to go back to." Charest's dilemma is proof where none is needed that politics is a tough game.

Regretted five months ago, for a now-canceled as senior, told that only he can save the party's Quebec base that was the foundation of Mulroney's victories in 1984 and 1988. It is not that the Tories are as any great hurry to push Campbell out the door—so long as it is clear that she is going away. "I don't have

any sense that anybody's pressing me to make a decision in the short term," she told *Maclean's*. But when she does leave, there is talk in party circles of an interim leader like Senator Michael Meighan, formerly bilingual, a former party president, well liked by all wings of the party. A more radical scenario involves leadership by a council of party elders, people like Don Mazankowski and Michael Whelan, both former ministers under Mulroney, former leader Joe Clark, former Ontario premier Bill Davis and former Alberta premier Peter Lougheed. Either alternative would give the party breathing space. "People are saying, let's not do anything precipitous," says former Ontario minister Ross Reed, who ran Campbell and former Alberta premier Peter Lougheed. Either alternative would give the party breathing space. "People are saying, let's not do anything precipitous," says former Ontario minister Ross Reed, who ran Campbell and former Alberta premier Peter Lougheed.

Part of that hesitation comes from an almost enduring sense of apathy for Campbell, who has no immediate prospects, is not eligible for a Commons pension, and will be poorer than a lower in a general election. Part comes also from a recognition that the Liberal government is still enjoying a honeymoon that leaves few opportunities for opposition parties. But perhaps the biggest reason is simple, hardheaded politics. There is no money for a leadership race and no guarantee that a special would want to undertake the dreary and hard work that will be required to restore party fortunes—including the tedious travel to small towns for small talk with small groups of Liberals in bad restaurants and chilly rooming-halls. "Whoever takes this on, frankly, should get their medal at the beginning rather than waiting until the end," says Toronto Tory activist Jim O'Donnell, "because it's going to be a big job with a lot fewer resources than people in this party are used to."

And while O'Donnell says that the, too, it is no small feat to write the leadership race, she says that the party cannot wait too long. She said others believe that a new leader will help to keep the party in public view, raise the funds needed to pay off its debt (estimated at more than \$7 million), and perhaps coast important, keep people together. "That's what is very, very important, to keep these people who are Conservatives, the militants, the participants, focused, going the," says party pollster Allan Grigg.



Campbell, giving the main culpa that senior Tories had asked for

Tory activists have no doubt that the party will survive. About 200,000 people across the country hold party memberships. It has well-projected numbers like (Laurin, Lougheed) and Clark who will help Mulroney, party sources say, has volunteered to help make money. And while it has only two Commons seats and is losing its 50-member research bureau, the party does have 50 seats in the Senate. Murray says Tory senators will not

block bills passed by the Liberal Commons, but he places to appoint senators who will act as kind of shadow cabinet.

As they think about revival, Conservatives are not convinced that there is as bad as it looks to outsiders. Campbell defends the party's record, as do others. In a Calgary speech last week, Clark claimed that the party lost its majority in the 1980s when it was divided over John Diefenbaker's leadership. And

just about every Conservative motto like a motto the number of votes that the party received on Oct. 25—216 million, compared with 224 million for Liberals and 55 million for the Liberals. "The Canadian people wanted to send a message," says Reed. "They didn't want to kill the patient in the process."

The party has lost power before, although never in such dramatic fashion. What is new this time is the presence of the Reform party, with 52 seats, which is camping on Tory ground. Most Tories do not see Reform as a threat to the long-term survival, although some have argued that Conservatives should consider a merger to survive. On the contrary, Tories insist that, despite the defeat, they, unlike Reform, are a national force.

When federal Conservatives talk about an eventual resurgence, many end up talking about Michael Harris, leader of the Ontario Tory party. Harris has brought the Ontario party, which ruled the province for 43 consecutive years before losing power in 1985, back to respectability. But Harris himself says that for the federal party to recover, it must look to itself for answers, stop pretending that things are better than they look, and accept the reality of its defeat. "The federal party has the possibility of dying," Harris told *Maclean's*. "It's a warning, there's no doubt about it." And still, there's no doubt about it, should this dramatic fall be a serious consequence. "It's a party of 52 seats," he noted. "50 more seats than the PC party has."

WARREN CRAWFORD with ART STANTON
Nelson-Dutton and E. KATE FULTON in Ottawa

'A VERY STRONG PERSON'

Conservative Leader Kim Campbell talked about life after her election defeat in Toronto last week with *Maclean's* Ottawa Correspondent Warren Craggie. Excerpts.

Maclean's: Are you going to stay as leader?

Campbell: It's really hard for me to make a long-term decision. I'm aware of the realities as much as anyone. First of all, I don't have any sense that anybody's pressing me to make a decision in the short term, except for my very closest friends, who would like to see me get out.

Maclean's: Will you stay to fight the next election?

Campbell: I think that's unlikely, but I have not made a decision. Realistically, I have to support myself [financially]. I don't want to be supported by the party. I am not independently wealthy.

Maclean's: Are you worried about being thought of as a loser?

Campbell: I don't think I am a loser. In the party, if anything, the comments I'm getting is that people think I did a good job and they don't lay everything at my doorstep.

Maclean's: How the magnitude of the defeat will affect you?

Campbell: I am a very strong person. I have had a lot of adversity in my life. If there's a crisis going on, I'm the calm person at the centre of it. It doesn't mean I don't feel things. I feel things very strongly. The election defeat was awful, but I don't know what people expect of me to do.

Maclean's: You have talked about the difficulty of finding love. Have you found love?

Campbell: I don't know why there is the persistent interest in my private life. When I spoke last year about the unreasonable loneliness of life in Ottawa, which is very true, I wasn't just talking about myself. I was talking about the life of politicians and I was talking about me as well. Yes, I have a second life. I have been very involved with Markham, Ontario Group (Landscape) and one of the compensations of not being a prime minister is to have both the time and privacy to pursue it. It's just with an invasion of my privacy to be talking about that.

Maclean's: So you won't answer the question?

Campbell: Are there men or are there a man in my life from time to time? Yes. But I guess I feel very protective of people in my life. I was appointed at the middle of my family's privacy during the leadership campaign and I don't want to conduct my private life in the media.



Murray (left) and Charest, who will be leader?

A classroom retreat

British Columbia shelves some school reform

The education millennium will be a little later in coming to British Columbia than originally planned. Inspired by a provincial royal commission in 1998 and first set in motion by the former Social Credit government, the education plan called "Year 2000" had lofty goals. To prepare young British Columbians to meet the challenges of the 21st century, Year 2000 envisaged nothing less than a new classroom order. Teaching would be selected around activities and themes rather than the dry divisions of traditional subjects. Students would be freed from the tyranny of grade levels to progress from kindergarten to graduation at their own pace.

When the Year 2000 program would be fully implemented, its advocates boasted, the province would stand at the forefront of progressive education in Canada. But now, those claims and that future are in doubt.

The much vaunted educational reforms be-



Pupils in a B.C. classroom: widespread discontent

gan to lose their luster this year after parents expressed near-Princess Diana-like discontent. The most frequent complaint: the planned extension to accommodate grades 11 to 12 of anecdotal reports already in use in primary schools. These reports, often with

no real basis, left many parents unsure what skills their child had—and had not—mastered. In September, Haccott declared that the Year 2000 program had "failed the grade" and ordered it reversed. "Parents want to be able to read a report card without having to have a PhD," he said. In mid-November, Education Minister Arthur Charlesworth announced that letter marks will be brought back in grades 4 through 7. He also altered the return of standard grade descriptions for kindergarten through Grade 12. Charlesworth now intends to spell out in mid-December exactly what other aspects of the program the SGP will drop, as some has already been abandoned.

Haccott's government is responding to widespread public discontent over the performance of the province's school system. Half of the 600 respondents to an August First Group survey in June said that the quality of education has dropped over the past decade; only seven percent saw some improvement. Of those who claimed to know something about the Year 2000 proposals, 62 percent disagreed.

Despite that dismal assessment, the government's adherence to the original program represents more of a mid-course correction than a U-turn. "I am perhaps learning the lesson pretty," Charlesworth told *Maclean's* last week. "But I've been careful not to throw out the good with the bad." Still, Charlesworth says that he wants a renewed focus on basic skills: reading, writing and mathematics. The minister has also ordered his officials to maintain traditional grade levels between Grade 4 and 12, and to restore assessment of students in those grades as students in clear windows. Explained Charlesworth, "We have got to tighten the reporting up."

But even Charlesworth's relatively modest backpedalling on the Year 2000 program is drawing criticism from Ray Wray, president of the 40,000-member B.C. Teachers' Federation. Wray is concerned about the extension of traditional grades and the possible reinstatement of "retrosives"—or what used to be called failing a grade. These assessments, he charges, threaten to "cut directly across the Year 2000 principle of continuous [educational] progress."

Still, Charlesworth's insistence on higher standards is hardly in keeping with nationwide trends. In Saskatchewan and New Brunswick, public inquiries have also underscored the need for education to be more accountable to students, parents and the public. The Ontario government's Royal Commission on Learning saw nothing the province is picking up similar signals of discontent. In that regard at least, true reform of the education system can hardly come soon enough for many Canadians in British Columbia and elsewhere.

CHRIS WOOD in Victoria

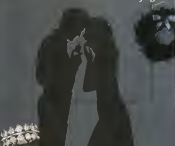
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A NEW SUN RISING

IN TRADITION-BOUND JAPAN, A REFORMER IS CHALLENGING THE OLD POLITICAL ORDER

Like many Japanese of her generation, 35-year-old Keiko Matsuda has never really paid much attention to politics. There didn't seem to be any pressing domestic problems—nothing like the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), the prospects of resurfacing political change appeared at best, remote. But since reformist Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa swept to power in August, everything has been changing. "Hosokawa has rekindled my interest in politics," says Matsuda, a Tokyo company editor. "He has broken to the core of the Japanese government. He has shown us there is another way."

By 1994 Japanese standards, Hosokawa is young. Nothing short of revolution is at hand if a seven-party coalition he has chosen would make legislation to clean up the country's notoriously corrupt political system, which for years has turned a blind eye to pork-barreling and kickbacks. He

has led a drive to arrest businessmen suspected of bribery and influence-peddling, as well as the politicians who are believed to have been in their pockets. He has even promised economic reforms—including deregulation and tax breaks—that he says will relieve Japanese consumers of the burden

of high prices and restrictive trade practices. "Hosokawa has surprised a lot of people," says Richard Corcoran, vice-president of corporate banking with the Royal Bank in Tokyo. "He was looked up as a traditionalist, but he has demonstrated he can change a lot of things. The old club is disappearing."

For that, most Japanese voters seem grateful. In a country where cynicism toward politicians runs deep, the 55-year-old prime minister earned an unprecedented approval rating of more than 70 per cent. Although their new leader has been in office for only five months, many Japanese obviously like what they see. "Hosokawa has created a new image for Japan in the international world," says Kazuo Nishikubo, a 24-year-old Tokyo liberal. "He looks young, intelligent, whereas LDP leaders tended to be old and stodgy—the stands for change." As far as Nishikubo knows, branch manager with Wood Gundy Japan Ltd., is concerned, the change heralded by Hosokawa

Shoppers in Tokyo: consumers may be the big winners

is for the better. "I find Mr. Hosokawa unique compared with previous prime ministers," says Nishikubo. "He is doing a good job and has set Japan on the right track."

The first step in Hosokawa's plan to get the country on course is an attempt to do what no Japanese leader has done before: push through sweeping political reforms. For a decade, successive LDP governments paid lip service to the idea, sometimes giving policy disavowals with a seemingly endless series of corruption scandals. But none of Hosokawa's predecessors ever delivered. In fact, it was former LDP prime minister Naoto Miyamoto's failure to enact promised reforms that led to his defeat in a surprise noncandidate vote over the issue in June. Deeply protective of a system that encouraged major corporate campaign fund-raising—and earned its repeated reelection—Japan's political establishment was understandably reluctant to change.

Until now, that is. In a major victory for Hosokawa, the 313-seat lower chamber of the Diet, at parliament, passed four bills in November that, if approved by the upper house as expected soon, will radically alter the face of Japanese democracy. The triumph came in spite of fierce opposition of the LDP, whose ranks to vote for the new

system. Currently, Japan has 493 electoral district districts, each of which sends between two and five members to the lower house. As a result, several candidates from the same party run for office in a single district. Critics charge that the system makes politicians dependent on powerful corporations, to whom they promise lucrative government contracts.

Under Hosokawa's proposals, the number of lower house seats will fall to 300, of which 276 will be chosen in single-seat districts. The other 226 will be filled by proportional representation. Voters will cast two ballots: one for a candidate in their house district and another for the party of their choice at the national level. In addition, electoral boundaries will be redrawn and the number of seats in each district will be reduced. That will reduce the influence wielded by lawmakers—who have been elected mostly from powerful protectionist industries, such as steel and shipbuilding. Even more significantly, the reform legislation will prohibit private firms from making donations to individual candidates. Instead, political parties will receive government funding for the first time. "These two measures, together with the new electoral system, will seriously curtail the 'money politics' that have come to characterize Japanese government," Politicians opposed to accepting bribes will be barred from holding office for five years.

But while most Japanese support the reforms, not everyone thinks they go far enough. "Hosokawa is continuing a kind of electoral apathy," contends Naoto Ito, an upper house member of the Liberal Democratic Party. Adds Ito, who says he will vote against the reform package, "I don't believe that some new ideas will get serious debate on policies. The competing politicians will resort to grander campaigns in order to win."

If Hosokawa is successful in his drive to overhaul Japan's electoral system, it will strengthen his hand as he moves on to the next stage of his reforming—the Japanese economy. At the core of his strategy is a plan to eliminate many of the country's more than 10,000 government regulations, which result in significant price markups for food and consumer goods. Some observers suggest that could lead to a gradual opening of the Japanese market to increased foreign

World Notes

MIDDLE EAST SITBACK

Yasir Arafat's group erupted in the occupied Golan Strip after Israeli troops shot and killed the commander of the military wing of the Muslim, militant group Hamas, which is trying to topple the Israeli civil government. In response, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said that the Jewish state might have to try to remove troops and withdraw from the Golan Strip and the West Bank zone of Jericho, scheduled to begin on Dec. 13.

A VICTORY FOR GUN CONTROL

The U.S. Senate passed the so-called Brady Bill, which requires a five-day waiting period for handgun purchases so that police can conduct background checks for criminal records or mental problems. The bill, named for James Brady, the White House press secretary disabled in a 1981 assassination attempt against Ronald Reagan, will be signed into law by President Bill Clinton.

KEYVORKIAN STRIKES AGAIN

Robertson's retired Dr. Jack Kevorkian again defied Michigan's new suicide law, which bans 65-year-old cancer patient Al Kishimoto's death. Kevorkian, who is a Michigan resident, is a physician in suburban Detroit. The retired physician, who has helped 28 people commit suicide since 1989, was questioned heavily by police and released. He is due to go to trial in January for prematurely defying the law, which was passed this summer.

SECRET ASSASSINATIONS

Retired Gen. Akhtar Tery, former chief of Israeli military intelligence, admitted that the Mossad secret service systematically assassinated Palestinian guerrilla leaders in the 1970s after Black September terrorists killed 13 Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympics. Tery said that Mossad agents killed between 30 and 150 guerrilla leaders in Europe and Beirut, according to a report by the Israeli-controlled Israeli press.

HELP FOR RAPE VICTIMS

The Canadian government donated \$400,000 to help Somali women who have been raped in US refugee camps on the Somali-Kenya border. The Canadian International Development Agency says that the money will be used to improve camp security and provide counseling, medicine and clothing to the victims. So far, 187 rapes have been reported in and around the camps.

CLEANING UP CORRUPTION

Under Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa's reform package, private companies would be banned from making donations to individual politicians. In addition, politicians suspected of accepting bribes would be prohibited from running for office for five years. A lot of the money went into the pockets of politicians.

AUGUST, 1993

Leading Liberal Democratic Party member steps down after admitting receipt of \$4.7 million in illegal donations from major transport group.

JUNE, 1993

Mayor of Osaka arrested on charges of taking \$125,000 in construction industry bribes.

JULY, 1993

Governor of Osaka province accused of accepting a \$82,500 payoff.

OCTOBER, 1993

Construction company executives accused of funneling \$11.5 million a year to about 50 politicians, as return for help in winning public-works contracts.

NOVEMBER, 1993

Prosecutors arrest attorney Ryuu Saito, owner of giant Daihatsu Paper Manufacturing Co., on charges of paying a \$600,000 bribe.



trade and investment. As well as proposing income-tax cuts to spur spending, Hosokawa suggests an economic plan for the big business of the economy is made more efficient and competitive. It is a prospect that appeals to many Japanese. "Hosokawa has promised as a single life," says Ken Hongo, a 39-year-old insurance translator. "He has promised to make the economy, and not the company, the most important player in the Japanese system."

In fact, the pressure to revitalize the world's second largest economy has become virtually inescapable. "There has been a sea change in Japan," says Shinya Cooper, chief economist at the Toronto-based investment firm Borealis Fry Ltd., who travels frequently to the country. "They are at a deep recession; the confidence level is quite low and the unemployment rate [2.8 per cent] is at a 30-year high. This is a new world horizon."

One sign of the changing times is a recent round of subsidies by major corporations, many of which had previously enjoyed unimpeded growth for more than three decades. Nissan, the country's second largest automaker, has announced that it will close several of its factories for two days in December in a consumer message. And other corporations have begun to lay off employees—especially workers known in Japan as "hedgehog by the window," who perform no real function but are kept on

the payroll by paternalistic corporations. "They can no longer afford to have an inventory of underemployed labor," says Cooper, who predicts that deeper cuts are in store. Some forecasters even suggest that Japan's unemployment rate could surpass eight per cent by the turn of the century.



Hosokawa (center): his predecessors paid lip service to reform

For a workforce accustomed to guaranteed lifetime employment, the job losses have come as a psychological blow. Economic protests, since unheard of in Tokyo streets, are becoming more common, as demonstrators with placards march against white-collar sackings. "There's an unprecedented phenomenon," says Cooper. "People are feeling very nervous. They don't know what to make of the future."

The uncertainty has even started to take its

toll on the famed Japanese work ethic, long confessed by doctored employees with an alibi: almost devoted to their employers. "We have worked too hard and have nothing for ourselves," says Hongo. "I want to be able to lead a simple life which is rich in leisure." Tetsuro Sasaku, a 40-year-old "salaryman" at a Tokyo government store, has even spoken.

"The Japanese are supposed to have the highest salaries in the world," he says, "but we are struggling because life is so expensive. I hope Hosokawa will improve our standard of living. The government must spend more money on stressing parks and housing, not just keep raising our taxes for improving infrastructure that benefits industrial production all the time."

But the road ahead seems rocky. In a country where upholding tradition is a way of life, easy opponents argue that Hosokawa is attempting to accomplish too much, too quickly. "He should look carefully at what is good and bad for Japan," says Ito of the Social Democratic Party. "Right now it looks as if a revolution is taking place in Japan. But that's not the way things are done by the Japanese. He should move step by step." Fortunately, says Hosokawa, many ordinary Japanese seem to think he's moving at the right speed.

SCOTT STEELE with
SILVANO DIAMANTIS in Tokyo

Hosokawa, samurai reformer

He is, to put it mildly, an unlikely candidate for the reform of a samurai family with more than 600 years of governing experience on Japan's south-western island of Kyushu. Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa is the privileged scion of one of the country's most aristocratic and powerful clans. Yet by Japanese standards, the hard-core, 30-year-old former journalist is a renegade. When he took power in August as head of a semi-party coalition that ended 35 years of Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) rule, Hosokawa declared that his "harshst priority task" was to combat independent political corruption.

True to his word, he had already taken steps to strip his country's omnipresent electoral system, and government regulation, more in the all-powerful bureaucracy and opaque conditions for Japan's notoriously overburdened consumers.

Japan's 79th prime minister is not the

first to reform. A direct descendant of a samurai family, he held the office from 1937 to 1939 and again in 1990 and 1991. Although Kato was an active opponent of Japanese militarism who strove to maintain peace with the United States, occupation authorities viewed him with an avowed war criminal in 1945 on suspicion of war crimes. Kato's convicted suicide on the day he was to report for questioning. Naohiro, who was seven years old at the time of his grandfather's death, received a traditional education that included studying the works of Confucius and other classical texts. After graduating in 1962 from the faculty of law at Tokyo's Keio University, he became a reporter at the national daily newspaper *Asahi Shimbun*, covering social issues.

Like many ambitious young men of his generation, Hosokawa joined the LDP. In 1971, at 33, he became the youngest politician ever elected to the House of Councillors, the upper chamber of the

Japanese parliament. But after serving two six-year terms, during which he became increasingly disillusioned by the extent of government corruption, he quit the LDP and moved to his ancestral home at warlord Katozuka Prefecture, where he was elected chief magistrate in 1983. Nicknamed the "postmodern politician," the popular Hosokawa voiced high-tech ideas to the area while attacking the central bureaucracy in Tokyo for meddling in local affairs.

In May, 1992, Hosokawa launched the centrist but reform-minded Japan New Party, promising to clean up scandal-plagued politics and return Japan to "a nation of principles." Just over a year later, with the collapse of the LDP, he was selected to head Japan's new coalition government, even though, with characteristic reserve, he claimed to dislike politics (in his rare spare time he is an avid broadcaster and an active skier). Still, Hosokawa declared, "I shall accept this mission of destiny." Japan may never be the same again.

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THE UNITED STATES

Work, not welfare



McKnight and grandchildren: It's fine for the big shade, but we're the gamma pigs!

Lois McKnight has been "on and off" welfare for the past 30 years. During that time she has struggled on her own to raise six children—two of whom are now welfare recipients themselves. In a cycle, she says, that is "backlink here" in break, which is why the McKnights—and thousands of other poor families in Wisconsin—are now worried. Starting next year, the state government will introduce a series of onerous rules reminiscent of slapping the welfare rolls. The measures are part of an experiment that is being closely monitored by politicians elsewhere, but McKnight wants nothing to do with it. "It's fine for the big shade," she says. "But we're the gamma pigs. We're the ones getting cut up in the job."

At a time when governments throughout North America are searching for ways to break the cycle of welfare dependency, Wisconsin's reform plans have attracted widespread attention. And conservative-minded politicians are not alone in endorsing the program. Although the state governor, Tommy G. Thompson, is a Republican, the proceeds could not have gone ahead without permission from Democratic President Bill Clinton. Last month, Clinton signed a waiver allowing the state to amend the rules of a federal welfare program known as Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Wisconsin's program, which it calls "Work

Not Welfare," will provide physically able recipients with two years of job training, after which they will be deemed ineligible if they have failed to find employment. "This program is revolutionary," Thompson asserts. "The idea is to help make welfare what it was meant to be—a temporary hand up, not a permanent handout."

The prospect of suddenly flailing themselves with no job and no welfare cheque has spread fear among Wisconsin's poor. Critics of the program compare up-thrusting images of devastation. McKnight, 58, who lives in the state capital of Madison, says that Thompson is just plain nuts if he thinks he can solve the problem of poverty by pushing people off the welfare rolls. It will take two years of education, she adds, for most welfare mothers just to gain the equivalent of a high-school diploma, even then they will need another two years of specialized job training.

A more serious problem, perhaps, is the availability of well-paying jobs. Although the state's unemployment rate is 3.8 per cent, many of those who complete training programs will be lucky to find jobs paying more than the minimum wage of \$4.25 (U.S.) an

hour, or about \$8,500 (U.S.) a year. According to the federal department of health and human services, the poverty threshold is \$9,500 (U.S.) for a single person and \$21,000 (U.S.) for a family of three. McKnight, who now collects \$507 (U.S.) a month plus other benefits, complains that a minimum wage job would not provide enough cash to cover rent, utility bills, food and health insurance. If their benefits are cut off, she predicts, "there will be 10 times the homeless." Adds McKnight's 17-year-old daughter, Angie, a welfare mother of four, "It's crazy. There are a lot of people who are not ready to get off welfare and will not be ready in two years. I believe crime will increase. It will turn a lot of people bitter."

Four other states—Vermont, Iowa, Wyoming and Georgia—are now experimenting with welfare reforms, although none goes as far as Wisconsin. In each case, legislators are responding to public demands for change. As the number of Americans on welfare continues to increase—some 4.9 million families now collect AFDC benefits—there is a widespread perception that many of the poor are simply too lazy to work. On Nov. 30, a group of Republican members of Congress proposed legislation that would allow every state to cut off welfare to people who have been on the rolls for five years. "Some seniors on welfare are more concerned by the feeling of their drug habit than the fact of not being to feed their children," said Representative Nancy Johnson of Connecticut.

Changes to working on his own welfare reform package—some he says will "real welfare as we know it." Like Wisconsin, Clinton's bill will include a two-year cutoff period, although it will almost certainly sidestep the idea of offering minimum-wage government jobs, such as picking litter from the side of highways, to those who cannot find work in the private sector. Activist groups already say that their battle is not about what to do with welfare mothers who simply refuse to perform that sort of work. They acknowledge that any attempt to crack down in such cases would penalize innocent children. "There's no way around that," says Charles Murray, a scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

For most of this century, Wisconsin has been on the leading edge of social reform in the United States. It was the first state to adopt workers' compensation (1911), the first with unemployment insurance (1932) and the first to offer job protection to the disabled (1932). Since Thompson took office in



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Police officer with murder weapon (left); Denise and Ralph Bulger after hearing the verdict; mail security video of the two murderers; the victim (below); broken homes, classroom aggression and bizarre behavior

BRITAIN

'Unparalleled evil'

The two boys came from broken homes, and almost everyone who knew them, from friends to neighbors to teachers, concluded that Robert Thompson and Joe Venables were deeply troubled. They frequently disrupted classes, skipped

school and picked fights with their peers. Late work at a construction site in the northwestern English town of Frinton, near Liverpool, a jury of nine men and three women unraveled the two 11-year-olds of abduction and murder in late February's deaths of two-year-old James Bulger. Crown Court Judge Michael Morland, who ordered the boys detained indefinitely, said they had committed "an act of unparalleled evil and barbarity."

Yet the jury's verdict left unanswered a central question: what led two children to commit one of Britain's most heinous crimes? The boys did not testify during their 17-day trial, nor did they shed any light on their motives throughout the police investigation. The evidence simply showed that Thompson and Venables had lured Bulger away from his mother at a shopping mall last Feb. 12. They dragged and pushed the toddler along a four-lane motorway in a redneck style, where they beat him to death with bricks and a 28-pound metal



Two British schoolboys are found guilty of murdering a toddler

ironing. Thompson, the trail Venables slashed in the prisoner's dock, his head hung in apologetic shame. Thompson sat next to him, drawing his fingers at the edge of the dock, shaking his rag and displaying an arrogance that even his lawyers found remarkable.

Thompson, the 8th of seven children, came from a troubled family that disintegrated in 1969 after his father, Robert, left his

mother, Ann Marie, for another woman. In school, Thompson was so aggressive that parents tried to keep their children away from him.

Venables, the youngest of three children, also made an unfavorable impression on those who knew him. "He was the strongest child I ever had in my class," a former teacher said. "He would literally throw his self around the room, banging off the walls and furniture." In 1991, he nearly choked a fellow student to death by jamming a ruler against his throat. Venables, who had been living with his mother Susan since his parents separated when he was an infant, was later expelled. He moved in with his father, Noel, enrolled in a different school and, in the fall of 1991, began a short-lived stay with Thompson.

The two boys grew closer when they were both held back at the end of the 1991-1992 school year because of poor grades. Several neighbors warned Venables' father to keep his son away from Thompson. Not Venables' grandparents, was planning to move his son to another school. But he did not act fast enough to prevent James Bulger's death.

The two boys will be held in separate detention centers for dangerous children. But Judge Morland's prediction that they will be locked up for "very, very many years" brought little praise to Ralph and Denise Bulger. James' parents. A distraught Denise Bulger, who is expecting her second child within weeks, said she works that the two boys should be thrown into a cell with other criminals—and abandoned to their fate.

DAVIDY JENSEN with DAN MONTAGNO in London



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Royal Bank branch in Toronto handling business that 4,500 jobs will be cut in 1993

BUSINESS

BANKING ON LESS

CANADIAN BANKS CUT COSTS TO BOOST PROFIT

Although Canadian banks have often been accused of having sleepwalker instincts, their financial results for 1992 show little evidence of herd behavior. Last week, two of the Big Six banks reported record profits for the year ended Oct. 31, and one reported a turnaround. But two others produced mediocre to disappointing results. The Bank of Montreal posted reports on its cost headquarters in Toronto last week to heart's content. Toxy Corp., publicly explains how it last achieved its fourth consecutive year of record profits. But one day later, the Royal Bank of Canada gathered its 52,000 employees into small groups across the country to watch videotapes of its top senior executives' chairman Allan Taylor and president John Cleghorn, and watch insurance plans to cut 4,000 jobs during the next 12 months. "And a man Taylor 'Many of our clients are leaving and when they leave, we have'."

Taylor's announcement, and the widely divergent profit results, marked a year of major upheavals in the banking sector. First it was a year that the banks began decreasing the trust industry with the same

apathy they showed for brokerage firms in 1987. Toronto-Dominion Bank (TD) opened the year by acquiring the nearly bankrupt Trust Company of Canada, the country's third-largest trust company. Then, in September, the floodgates, once-great Canadian institution Royal Trust Co. Ltd., also headquartered in Toronto, was purchased by the Royal Bank after lengthy rescue talks. As well, Montreal-based National Bank acquired General Trust of Canada in July. Last week, speculation spread that the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce (CIBC) is poised to announce an agreement to buy Montreal Trust from BCE Inc., the Montreal-based holding company. The banks stepped up the financially distressed trust companies to increase their retail banking market share and economies of scale. And they also acquired trust employees able to provide the special services needed for the investment management responsibilities of the trust business.

In addition to corporate shopping sprees, the most surprising bank acquisition in 1992 was that, for the first time, bank shareholders will be

sold how much they are paying top executives. When the banks file the disclosure documents, information now required by the Ontario Securities Commission at the end of December, the most closely guarded secret in a close-knit industry will finally be out in public. Knowledge of bank stockholders of Bank of Montreal (BMO) and Bank of Nova Scotia (BNS) is not as good as that of the other banks. "We'll find out whether they're paid for performance, or for size,"

In banking circles, the academic debate about the effect of a bank's size on its performance is like the medieval philosophers' position about the number of angels that could dance on the head of a pin. But, what is becoming increasingly clear is that the biggest banks are no longer necessarily the most profitable ones. This year, the Bank of Nova Scotia, with assets of \$208 billion, posted the largest profits of \$714 million. The Bank of Montreal, with assets of \$117 billion, reported profits of \$709 million. They were by most measures the most profitable banks, even though they moved fourth and third, respectively, in size as measured by the value of assets. By contrast, the Royal, the country's largest bank, has indicated that in December it will report a profit of just \$530 million on assets of about \$130 billion, after selling some 6,000

or 4,700 positions in the coming year, including 1,000 from the ranks of its Royal Trust. It will also close more branches, including 43 of Royal Trust's 142 outlets. Cleghorn says that the number of actual layoffs has not been determined yet, despite the focus on reducing costs, some of the more obvious losses of the Royal's dominant post-war era. It continues to maintain two separate executive headquarters in the bank's glittering downtown Toronto office tower—gold that incorporated into the new glass gives the building its unique golden sheen—and an official head office in Montreal.

The bank's earnings for 1992, however, reflect more than operating costs. The latest results also underscore which institutions have the most exposure to Canada's recession-ravaged economy. In particular, CIBC closed its third quarter with a record and analysts' forecasts in advance of year end results. The bank had their earnings dropped down in 1992 by big loan losses, primarily as a result of the weakened domestic commercial real estate market.

The TD Bank has suffered even more than the other two because so much of its business is based in Ontario, where the recession hit the hardest. The TD Bank's post-

70-71 fiscal year profits for last year for the year. TD Bank's profits did not drop. Royal Bank's profits were even larger this year when it added Royal Trust's net income to its income. The Royal Bank's income of \$3.3 million, "Solely in some ways," Royal Bank's profits were even larger this year when it added Royal Trust's net income to its income. The Royal Bank's income of \$3.3 million, "Solely in some ways," Royal Bank's profits were even larger this year when it added Royal Trust's net income to its income.

With the job cuts announced last week, the Royal is finally attempting to get its size under control. "We must face facts we are an expensive bank to run," Taylor told employees in the video. "In the 1980s, we added more and more people and we created a base that is bigger than we need." To begin to address that problem, the bank has cut 3,000 jobs over the last two years—about 400 people actually lost their jobs while the rest of the reductions came through attrition. It also closed about 100 branches and other of them, said Cleghorn, while managing to retain one of every 10 customers these branches served.

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A BIVOC APPROVED

The federal Competition Tribunal authorized Canadian Airlines to enter into a partnership with Air Canada in the Central computerized reservation system. As well, the federal government appointed Stanley Hart, a former aide to Brian Mulroney, to act as a facilitator to clear up "several commercial issues" including the Gemini deal—that an outstanding between the two airlines. In talks with Hart, Air Canada and Canadian will each be represented by their chief executive officers and one director. The possible benefits of Gemini would claim the way for Air Canada's Airbus to invest \$245 million in cash-strapped Canadian for a 50-per cent share in the airline.

ONTARIO CREDIT CUTS

Two credit rating agencies downgraded about 500 businesses in Ontario, mostly in the manufacturing sector, as a result of Ontario's \$9.9-billion budget deficit and the government's inability to meet its deficit reduction targets for the lower ratings. It is expected that lower ratings will cut the province's inflows of dollars in additional interest payments on future debt issues.

A DIET FOR COKE

In a bid to cut its operating costs, Coca-Cola Bottling Co. of Canada will close eight of its 30 Canadian bottling plants and lay off 560 of its 4,300 employees. The company also plans to overhaul its distribution network and to centralize its warehousing system to move products more quickly. After a restructuring charge of \$125 million for the year ended Dec. 31, the changes are expected to reduce annual operating costs by \$41 million.

PHILIP MORRIS IN SHOCKER

In a bid to cut its operating costs, Philip Morris Inc. will reduce its 150,000-strong workforce by 14,000 and shut or curtail production at 40 plants worldwide in an effort to improve the competitiveness of its branded products. The New York-based company, with sales of \$76 billion, is also taking other steps, including a \$1.3 billion in the fourth quarter of this year to cover the associated costs. Philip Morris has been hurt by increased competition from discounted store-brand and generic cigarettes in the United States.

it fell to \$75 million for 1993, the fourth consecutive year as earnings have dropped since it reported record profit of \$900 million in 1990. Its profit took an extra beating in 1993 because of restructuring costs related to the acquisitions of Central Guaranty and Maritime Bankers, a dis-cout broker. The trust bank is the 10th largest bank in Canada with assets of \$65 billion. The Montreal-based National Bank, the sixth largest bank, reported a healthy turnaround profit of \$170 million, up from just \$1 million in 1992, on assets of \$67 billion.

By contrast, Bank of Montreal and Scotiabank have both had more revenues coming from outside Canada to offset higher loan losses and lower reserves at home. "They suffered a lot in the 1990s because of the Third World debt problems," says Burns Fry's Brown. "But now the tides have turned and they're benefiting from their non-Canadian holdings."

Indeed, the Bank of Montreal, in addition to being able to recover some of the Third World loans that it had written off earlier, also got a healthy profit boost of \$137 million



Bank of Montreal's Cooper profits from foreign business

from Harris Bank, its Chicago-based U.S. subsidiary. In total, Cooper said that more than half of the bank's profits for 1993 came from such non-Canadian sources. Bank of Montreal intends to build upon its 1994 purchase of Harris and to expand its U.S. presence. By the end of the decade, Cooper says, the bank hopes to be getting half of its profits from the United States. Brown Har-

ris Bank already has a trust business and because of the Bank of Montreal's two well-built trust business in Canada, Cooper says that the bank has no plans to join the others in a rush to buy into the Canadian trust business.

The Bank of Nova Scotia appears to be adopting a similar view of the trust business. Barry MacDonald, chief operating officer of the Bank of Nova Scotia Trust Co., says the bank is building its own trust business by prospecting for suitable clients from its bank customers.

With 1993 behind them, the banks are now looking ahead to only a slightly better economic environment in 1994. But despite a slight improvement in the economy and signs that loan losses will begin to decline, analysts say the banks will continue to be under pressure to keep costs down. Ned Brown, "Cost cutting is going to be a way of life for the next four or five years." And that is going to be especially hard for banks like the Royal, who have become accustomed to living in gold towers.

BRENDA DALGLISH

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riper television. And Levine has produced a masterful survey of how the media in Canadian prime time interact, process and source one another. Running back to the 1840s, in Rita Campbell's recent portrait these 200 pages provide a brief summary of the country's political history and how journalists have influenced its course. Levine makes a case for the media as a "public good" rather than "the enemy of the right-thinking citizens' journalists," "misrepresented in biased reporting, quick judgments, inaction with truth, and lack of historical perspective," and concludes "The time has come to stop back. The chaos of the system must be controlled. Otherwise, fewer and fewer talented individuals will leave a career in journalism. They will then run after the leaders. They wait, but those chosen are created by members of the media."

The Mighty Thinker's Wife: The Assault on Equality in Canada (Penguin Books, \$13.95). With the Christian government preparing to discuss at least part of the 1982 constitution act, which would strip the rights of women, Linda McQuay has studied how European countries have economically underperformed and found that Germany, France, Austria, Italy, and Japan have all done better. Canada and Norway spend far more, as a percentage of gross domestic product, on social programs than we do. Despite their prosperity, these continental nations perform as badly as the United States in economic growth and international competitiveness. As a time when the federal government is having trouble justifying the expenditure of not quite 12 per cent of our care on social programs, McQuay's book is a timely reminder that the spending between 18 per cent and 30 per cent. Freeland writes McQuay's book, which suffers from too broad a concentration of unproved statistics.

Not Out Yet The *Beyos* (Macmillan/Cosmo, \$24.95) Sharon Cascardi, led the *Manhattan* *Liberist Party* for nine years and even though the *sewer* *assured* *young*, she played an *essential* *role* in the *party's* *early* *years*. *Life* *deluge* and *delight* of the *Christians* *acred*. *Her* *extraordinary* *frank* *memoirs* *begin* with a *childish* *chronicle* of *being* *sexually* *assaulted* when she was *nine* and *her* *confession* that at *age* *31* she *still* *yearns* *for* *her* *first* *love*, *her* *husband*, *John*. She *seeks* *love* *and* *prots* of *her* *life* to the *imagination*, *including* *details* of *her* *platonic* *relationships* with *Jeff* *Madden* *once* *Canon's* *chief* *quasi*, who *confused* that *leaving* *her* was *"like* *losing* *her* *best* *friend*." *Her* *story* *is* *one* *of* *the* *most* *compelling* *character* *chronicles* *Cascardi* *has* *ever* *written*. *Her* *position* *as* *the* *most* *eloquent* *constitutional* *position* *during* *the* *5-4* *crunch* *on* *Morish*, *which* *she* *describes* *as* *"the* *most* *work* *of* *my* *life*." *The* *details* *of* *her* *conversation* *with* *Newfoundland* *and* *Labrador* *Justice* *Chief* *Wells* *are* *not* *quite* *as* *well* *known* *as* *the* *other* *break* *in* *the* *crunch*.

Seldom has so much dirty political laundry been aired within the hard covers of a book. It is a chillingly real guided tour

in her bill, while most of his secretaries believe Donald Rumsfeld, who for 20 years was senior White House staffer, has been the most honest. John Buchanan's biographer, *Bill Clinton*, at most of all. He learned the murky secrets of the Clinton administration from the inside, and he wrote a book about the Clinton scandal, *Clinton's Secret*, which was more left in tone. The result is a well-written, readable chronicle of politics on the ground, on more precisely, at the trough. It's a tragedy story, particularly the tale of John Grist, the former Clinton lawyer whose involvement in the Clinton scandal was a major factor in the impeachment. Grist was a man who had been in a hotel room. Clinton had no such right, but political bookends are used within the hard cover of the book. Rumsfeld quotes an old saying that "the truth even if it is as thick as mud" is the best defense. A direct quote from the highest level. A direct quote from the

Serve Wars: The Prime Ministers and the Media (Doubleday Press, \$19.95). Don't make this book be its abject cover. Win-

Faultlines: Struggling for a Canadian Vision (Hogrefe/Collins, \$29.95). By profiling eight of the major participants in the new political scene of the 1980s, Jeffrey Simpson has painted an evocative political canvas of the past decade. His thesis, that Canada's traditional political culture has "cracked like river ice in late spring," is certainly valid, and his analysis of the rise of "Practical Politics" from the 1970s through the 1980s by Thomas, Clyde Wells and Lucien Beauchamp among others, documents that case eloquently. His description of how Manning's protest ideology evolved out of the Mulroney government's 1985 decision to award the C-61 aircraft maintenance contract to Montreal's Canadair Corporation, and his discussion of the 1985 election itself, implies much about the current political scene. Simpson's Toronto Globe and Mail columnists now on leave at Stanford University, seem up Manning's appeal by explaining that his was cry, "anxious sense of collective responsibility"; caught the hunger of Canadians for a leader who would take the development of agreements with aboriginal people could not mean their government programs designed to dislodge capital, and class-based demands from groups segmented around gender or language or ethnicity as economic interests or some other materialist demand; and traced their way in to the political agenda. "I used the most radical political book of the year."

Bagman: A Life in Nova Scotia Politics (Key Porter Books Ltd., \$28.95). Political bagmen have always been shadowy figures, moving in and out of excluded restaurants and plush cars, clutching their party donations, eventually ending up in the Senate.

October 2008

FIRING UP THE OILPATCH

Small producers are poised to withstand booms and busts

BY DEBBIE McMURDY

Calgary has always been a city of dramatic extremes. Geographically, it sits at the point where the big sky of the Prairies gives way to the huffing Rocky Mountains. And in the dry grip of the harshest winter a warm Chinook wind blowing over those mountains can produce a complete three-subinversion. The city's principal business—oil and gas—is given to similar swings. Since oil was first discovered in the nearby Turner Valley in 1914—and especially since the big strike at Leduc near Edmonton in 2077—the energy sector has endured a relentless cycle of booms and busts caused by volatile world oil prices, slaking government policies and fluctuating demand.

Last last week, a downturn hit the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) suddenly pushed world crude oil prices to their lowest levels in five years. Such erratic conditions have, over time, trained the inherent optimism of the entrepreneurs who populate the industry. And while most of them take pride in their ability to survive such a business environment, they are usually as skeptical about the longevity as they are about the slumps. Last week's price jolt was a case in point despite the fact that they now face a winter of weak prices and increasingly because of OPEC's inability to agree to production cuts. Canadian oilmen have now concluded in the face of dramatic—and permanent—changes that have taken place in their industry. Says Dennis Tinsell, president of Uthmaniyah Petroleum Ltd., "We used to expect inflation and rising commodity prices to drive us aside if we weren't efficient. But we've learned the hard way about controlling the few things that we can."

While the whims and vagaries of crude markets are beyond their control, Canada's oil executives are better able than ever to withstand such uncertainty.

The base of the industry has been broadened and reinforced over the past 18 months as a number of small double oil and gas producers have merged up the assets held by a handful of bankrupting giants. Three so-called integrated entrepreneurs, which engage in all aspects of the business from exploring to refining, used to dominate the industry, making it extremely vulnerable to

"Price expectations are a lot more realistic than they ever used to be."

D.E. Anderson, chairman, Anderson Exploration Ltd.



A pumpjack against the sky in Alberta's oil country.

their fortunes and failures. But as the recession has forced them to trim their operations and reduce their bloated portfolios of oil and gas properties, the less junior companies, with virtually no debt on their books, were quick to prosper. "The large hierarchical structures suddenly shrunk," says Gordon Skoloff, chairman of Morrison Petroleum Ltd. "Industrywide, responsibility and decisionmaking have now shifted from a few large heads to a number of small ones."

Taking advantage of their streamlined structures and the latest technology, the junior producers soon reaped the benefits of their new purchases, adding low-cost oil and gas production to their reserve bases. While spending on exploration and development by the integrated producers has dropped to about \$1 billion a year from about \$3 billion a year in 1985, drilling activity is still brisk partly because technological advances are making it faster and cheaper for the smaller companies to drill for oil and gas. According to the Canadian Association of Oilfield and Drilling Contractors, 8,317 oil and natural gas wells were completed in Western

Canada in the first 11 months of 1993, compared with 4,772 in 1992.

That surge in energy production—which coincided with a long-awaited strengthening of natural gas commodity prices—promptly caught the eye of equity markets that are starved for signs of growth in a stagnant economy. According to Rob Peters, chairman of Peters & Co. Ltd., a leading Calgary-based investment dealer, about \$6 billion in investment capital has flowed into the industry over the past two years. Much of that is from mutual funds that are swelled with the cash of North American investors who are looking for a higher rate of return than is now paid on bonds and other loans. "It's the best time in 25 years for the junior oils," says Peters. "There have been fundamental changes in the energy business combined with a lack of alternative vehicles for investment growth."

The application of new technology and a staunch adherence to the so-called New Economy principles of lean work and non-hierarchical management structures are at the heart of those "fundamental changes." Done before the New Economy turns and the pursuit of

explorer experimentally become commonplace, industry decided that the junior oil producers operate in light-light zones. "Because of our size and structure, we can react fast," says Uiter's Travel. "With the big independents, you have to wait for days for the layers of bureaucracy to move—let alone make a decision."

The hesitations in the industry have worked valiantly to improve their efficiency, but it has been a painful and protracted process from which they are only now emerging. In early 1992, after reporting its first-ever operating loss of \$36 million, Imperial Oil Ltd. announced plans to cut costs by about 15 per cent by eliminating about 1,700 jobs, freezing employee salaries and bonuses, closing 1,000 of its 4,300 service stations across Canada and reviewing the operations at its six refineries in Calgary, Petro-Canada, the petroleum for the Crown corporation, was already in the process of undergoing a painful restructuring that culminated last January in the ouster of its longtime chairman, Bill Hepper. In addition to cutting staff from a peak of 10,000 to about 5,000, the company reduced its number of service stations from 3,590 to 2,000 and sold over \$1 billion in exploration properties.

According to Greg West, chief executive officer of Rigoli Energy Corp., which recently broke away from an international parent company, Total of France. "The big guys are trying to look like the little guys because the little guys are making money." He adds that "the days of the oil and gas, easy money are over. The geological opportunities that remain in Canada aren't suited to that style any more." In fact, the steady depletion of the oil reserves in Canada's western sedimentary basin has led many larger domestic producers to concentrate their exploration and development programs and spending outside of Canada.

While some of the major companies have ventured into foreign territory—most notably Canadian Resources Ltd.'s foray into Argentina—most are actively focused on specific geological areas. In the 1980s, it was common wisdom that energy companies—large and small—should hold as many small stakes as they could in oil and gas fields as possible. Now, however, the junior producers acquire controlling interests in known areas where they can capture full costs and production schedules are closely scrutinized. At Uiter, for one, Travel has steadily reduced the company's holdings from an average 25-per-cent stake in 100 small stakes to 35 properties in which the company owns at least 60 per cent.

The heightened emphasis on new production technology and the steady refinement of its application have also played a key role in the junior producers' quest for increased efficiency and lower operating costs. The latest breakthroughs are three-dimensional seismic surveys, horizontal drilling and improved drilling bit technology. Although versions of these technologies have been around for almost 50 years, they are increasingly being refined and used in tandem with high-powered computers. That helps exploration teams to fully assess a drill site before incurring the expense of moving in heavy equipment and teams of workers. It has also allowed junior companies to discover and develop pools that would have once been too small or too costly to exploit. Declares Kay's Frost, "Technology has revolutionized



"It's the best time in 25 years for junior oils."

Bob Peters, chairman, Peters & Co. Ltd.

"Responsibility and decision-making have now shifted from a few large hands to a number of small ones."

Gordon Stacey, chairman, Nexco Petroleum Ltd.



development, prices were cut in half and drilling fell to a 30-year low," says J.C. Anderson, chairman of gas producer Anderson Exploration Ltd. "It caused a huge deflation."

As a result, junior energy producers, who rely on their cash flow to survive, deliberately emphasized the discovery of oil—which, despite periodic peaks and valleys, has had a relatively steady ride as world commodity markets rose to its latest column in 1986. It was not until 1987, however, that industry players began to focus on the selling price for natural gas. Over the past year, gas has climbed from about 25 cents per thousand cubic feet to over \$2. Last month, the prospects for natural gas proved another boost when San Francisco-based Pacific Gas Transmission Co., a prime buyer of Canadian gas, completed a \$1-billion expansion of its natural gas pipeline. "The strengthening of gas prices and the expansion of the infrastructure to deliver it, is what will sustain the industry's growth through the 1990s," says Peters, the Calgary investment dealer.

Still another factor that deters growth is the recent oil price restructuring in the attempt at the senior managers within the banking community. Even though improved demand and market level managers have been dropping over one-half of oil under new equity issues and investment capital in the sector, company executives talk sternly about the growing need to "improve investor expectations" and to ensure that viable ventures do not abruptly withdraw their capital at the first sign of commodity price weakness.

For the most part, junior oil men agree, says the Frost and economic forecasters with acquisition and divestiture efforts in production started to cool even before last week's oil price drop. For a time, the aggressive demand and

the abundance of capital has been to drive up the price of assets. For another thing, the major oil-oriented companies have largely cleaned out their portfolios and sold the holdings they no longer want. "We all agree it's been hot, but it's time to get down to the basics of the business, explain it and development of all the stuff that's been bought," says gas producer Anderson. And while the recent decline in oil prices cooled some of the passion of the past, other have lower natural gas prices caused euphoria. Anderson notes that, overall, "the industry's price expectations are a lot more realistic than they ever used to be."

Despite the rapid shift of growth in the sector of oil and gas companies, their senior managers adamantly maintain that they will be able to avoid the same organizational sprawl that has plagued the industry's big players. "We have a management structure and we put a lot of work into maintaining it," notes Mortimer Petrosian, Stacey, who has a copy of his Kutchuk's "The Wisdom of Taurus" tucked on a shelf. "As you grow, it's easy to get bloated—you have to fight that and learn to be comfortable in increasing chaos." Even more significantly, the newly awarded oil-rich states claim that they have finally learned to manage the flow of oil and gas and that they have historically played their performance. It is a claim, however, that world oil markets clearly stand to test.



"We had to wear Sceptre from the high life."

Grant Billing, chief executive officer, Sceptre Resources Ltd.

STARTING AFRESH

The only thing that Grant Billing and J.R. Billing have in common is the oil and gas business. Unlike J.R., the shareholder character in the long-running TV series Dallas, Billing is a very accurate actor who favors color, cowboy shirts, suspenders, pleather-stuffed belt buckles and cowboy boots. When he's not in a cowboy shirt, he makes up for it in intensity and nerve. In January 1992, the Calgary native took the helm of Sceptre Resources Ltd., a high-flying energy company that had crashed to earth. One year ago, Sceptre completed its financial restructuring program. "We spent two years in the junkyard—this thing would never make money again," he says. "Well, here we are." In 1990, the company lost \$210 million. In the first nine months of this year, it earned \$18 million.

In many respects, the story of Sceptre is a microcosm of the Canadian oilpatch. It borrowed too heavily and expected oil prices to continue forever. Finally, Sceptre was ridden as a simple, focused entity. "Shipped down, the company had poor, basic Canadian assets and talent," says Billing. "We chose four key geological areas and decided to concentrate on those. As well, we introduced new discipline by limiting acceptable corporate credit to a conservative 20 percent. Sceptre's a cash flow. We had to lean Sceptre from the high life," he notes. "That doesn't happen overnight."

That shift to a leaner lifestyle also cost money. When Dick Gustafson was the company's president and chief executive (1979-1991), he was as well-known for his lavish living as he was for his aggressive acquisitions. Gustafson's particular weakness was his high-risk oil plays in such exotic locations as Vietnam, Bolivia and Pakistan. It ultimately cost Sceptre about \$110 million to write off those long adventures.

Billing employed an almost classic New Economy method, as the less stratified corporate structure it known, he followed through on the financial overhaul. He reorganized Sceptre into work teams, each with staff members from senior geologists to accountants. He also pared 30 layers of management down to four by firing and performance objectives for all employees and, to encourage their participation in Sceptre's turnaround, he rewarded them stock options, says Billing. "Before, things were too distributed—now we've shared the goods."

The "goods" have certainly multiplied as investors have rushed to the junior oil business. Sceptre's share price has climbed from a low of \$4 to a recent high of \$15.50 a share. Now, Billing says that Sceptre has received repeated offers to raise stock in its own market. But he says that management will not bite. "If we didn't cost the money for some specific project, we will not be tempted. But it's a nice change to be asked."



A QUESTION OF CREDIBILITY

David O'Brien was, in his own words, "pawing" for the worst when he arrived in Ottawa to meet the new Liberal minister of natural resources on Nov. 18. As the incoming chairman of the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers, O'Brien represents a powerful industry lobby group. The new minister, Anne McLellan, 45, is a low profilester who won her Education rubric by a slim 11 votes and who has no previous experience in elected politics—or in the energy business. But O'Brien, the chairman of Petro-Canada, Petroleros Ltd. of Calgary, has met with the past three energy ministers and he says that he is skeptical about the knowledge that even veteran politicians have about oil and gas. As he expected, O'Brien encountered a neophyte in the 23rd-floor office of the natural resources tower in Ottawa. Still, he admits that he was pleasantly surprised by McLellan's intelligence and common sense. "As long as someone can grasp the issues and be sensible, that's as far as you can go forward."

That meeting was the first one between an oil industry executive and a Liberal energy minister since 1984, when the Progressive

Conservatives acceded to power. At such, it was an important element in bridging the long-standing rift between the Liberals and the oilpatch. The petroleum industry, anxious about Liberal government interference in its industry, wants guarantees that the Liberals will not try to resurrect the reviled 1980 National Energy Program. That program, implemented at a time of rapidly rising international oil prices, held prices at Canada well below world levels, limited exports and

Natural Resources Minister Anne McLellan must win the confidence of a wary industry

raised billions of dollars in new federal energy taxes—money that producers and western provincial governments argued was theirs. The policy alienated both the industry and a whole region of the country. Now, the task of rebuilding relations between the Liberals and the oil industry has fallen to McLellan, an energetic and affable 38-year-old who served

McLellan leaving the ropes in Ottawa while puzzling the demands of the oilpatch

to Alberta in 1980. "What this government has to do—and what I have to do—is regain the trust of industry, especially in the oil-and-gas sector," McLellan told *Maclean's* in an interview last week. "They have a right to be a bit wary. At the end of the day, what you do is say, look, judge us by what we do."

Recently aware of the industry's suspicions, the Liberals made no specific commitments on oil-and-gas policy during the election campaign. The party's so-called Red Book of campaign promises contains only a few brief references to energy. The document refers to current the "energy gateway" in Article 664 of the 1983 Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, which requires Canada to maintain oil and gas shipments to the United States, even in times of shortage. No similar restrictions apply to Mexico under the new North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

McLellan herself concedes that she was "somewhat surprised" to be landed the portfolio of natural resources. Formerly known as the ministry of energy, mines and resources, she will have to wrestle with a variety of conflicting demands, including those of environmentalists, who will be represented in cabinet by a former political activist, Huxtable MP and Energy Minister Sheila Copps. McLellan will also have to learn to balance the opposing interests of western oil-and-gas producers and their more domestic-minded energy consumers in Central Canada. There are other complex issues ahead as well: many policies with a direct bearing on the fortunes of the energy sector will be dictated by other departments, like Prime Minister Jean Chretien and Trade Minister Ray MacLaurin who are any sensitive changes to the energy provisions in NAFTA. And it is Finance Minister Paul Martin who will decide whether to accede to environmentalists' demands for a carbon tax on polluting fossil fuels.

To date, McLellan has a record of willing ears to adapt. She grew up in the tiny town of Inver-Simcoe in Nova Scotia and studied government science at the University of New Brunswick in Fredericton. She then obtained a master's of law degree at the University of London in 1978. McLellan became a full law professor at the University of Alberta in 1980 and serving terms at the faculty office in 1984. She was elected to the Canadian Bar Association and the Canadian Bar Association. McLellan says her understanding of the West came partly from taking a sabbatical in 1981 to do a stint in the oilpatch. "It's not surprising," she says, "in developing an understanding of the deep historic sense of alienation on the part of many Albertans." Now, McLellan must see that understanding to help the Liberals in their bid to win back Western Canada's confidence.

NANCY WOOD in OTTAWA



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Letter from Calgary

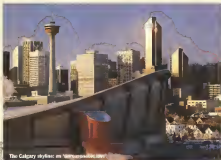
A SPIRITED CITY

A poem entitled *Calgary* in the *West Coast poet* George Browning wrote that "this city of narrow streets, ruled by architects selling air, attracts permeable love from its victims." That love has caused despite some sobering setbacks over the years—big and small. Of late, Calgary has taken some lumps on the playing field. On Nov. 26, the University of Toronto Varsity Blues defeated the University of Calgary Dinosaurs 33-0 to win the Varsity Cup, the Canadian university football championship. A day later, the CFL Stampeders failed to advance to the Grey Cup final, thanks to their perennial rivals, the Edmonton Eskimos. That left 1,000 Calgary natives to make the best of losing the Big Game and five days of Cup festivities for visiting Edmontonians and Winnipeggers.

But over the past decade, the city has been rocked by seismic upheavals much greater than the mere wifery of a football team. The worst period was the collapse of the brittle oil boom of the late 1970s—a crash caused by a sharp decline in international petroleum prices in 1980 and, in 1981, near zero rate of increasing yields, the Trudeau government's failed Natural Energy Program of 1980. Can construction cranes that dominated the city's skyline during the boom disappeared overnight, and thousands of roughnecks and executives alike lost their jobs in the subsequent downturn.

Now, an oil-rich revival is under way, so far, there are few signs of the excesses of the late 1970s, when house prices skyrocketed, social life multiplied, greed became the gospel and Alberta's conservative spirit wifely. The current rebound, led by small- and medium-sized oil and gas concerns, is not as frenzied as the corporate glitz, as more local, and to a large place in a deficit-ridden province that last week ordered a nationwide five-per-cent salary cutback of all public-sector employees. Some would be good as the streets drenched in oil, the cowboy boots and oversized belt buckles, but the faded three-month, 275 agencies have had its pace.

Indeed, signs of both the man-horn in the oil and gas industry, and of the scaled-down expenditures that accompany it, are now clearly visible in downtown. The downtown sidewalks, overcrowded for



The Calgary skyline as seen from downtown.

most of the working day, suddenly fill a few minutes before noon with walkers. The Calgary Tricolour Club, the preferred lunch club for oil executives, is having such again. But the rule, once or twice religiously followed in those stricter days, is to be back in the office by 1 p.m. sharp.

Enjoying from the food and potatoes that they consume, Calgary's new oil boom is a more weekly lot than their beach professions in the late 1970s. Many more men are in the office to offer the central services in Alberta, but in the West's latest one-day last month, Swiss-born executive chief Fred Zimmerman, president of Mary Chapman, explains why his children's life page with parents Zimmerman's recent lunch with Thomas Caputo. Fred Zimmerman, a former member of Canada's Olympic hockey team "This city is very cosmopolitan now. Oilmen bring the world and they want those experiences and different tastes here."

Elite influences abound at other downtown restaurants as well—from that nice at Kims, through spicy Chilean-rolling in the city's new downtown Eau Claire Market, to French-styled La Maison de Ver-

wood and La Chausserie, to the southwestern U.S. menu and dress at Mesquite, one of several upscale restaurants operated by Calgary-based Wildwood. At the Beef Springs Hot's barbeque, where and food Festival last month, about 300 guests, most of them Californians, attended a dinner event that included a \$150-a-plate, side dinner of most delicacies by Chef Jean-Pierre Maudin, a chef at San Francisco's famed Chez Parnot.

The variety on the menu, in part, reflects the influx of immigrants and other outside influences into Calgary since the last boom. An estimated 10 per cent of Calgary's 730,000 citizens are now members of a visible minority, and the stream from Hong Kong, Vietnam and other Asian countries continues. The city's Chinatown, once a dusty collection of restaurants and illegal gambling parlors, now boasts a \$7 million Chinese Cultural Centre, completed last year, with visitors covered with gold leaf to be studied by craftsmen from its own China. And the newcomers are not content to sit on the political sidelines. Vietnamese-born Conservative M.L.A. Huay Pham represents Calgary-McLeod, a working-class district that is home to many newcomers, in the Alberta Legislature. Immigrant schools, such as Victoria and Comstock community schools are predominantly non-Canadian, and several mosques and Hindu temples contribute to Calgary's altered skyline.

The city's cosmopolitan base is also broader now than it was in the early 1980s, largely due to continued efforts by local and provincial governments. The University of Calgary, ranked fifth in the last overall expansion category in Maclean's annual ranking of Canadian universities last month, recently announced a new chair in biotechnology, a crucial link to commercially acceptable exploitation of Alberta's tar sands. Overall, according to the Calgary Economic Development Authority, the city's population is growing at the most highly educated in the country, with more than 15 per cent of adults having postsecondary education.

Culturally, too, Calgary has matured. Although the Conservative provincial government has reduced funding to theaters to help reduce its deficit, subsidized of companies and their employees have helped pick up the slack. Last month, the Alberta Theatre Projects (ATP) staged a production of edited Chinese playwrights Ariel Dorfman's *Death and the Maiden*, while Theatre Calgary mounted a version of U.S. playwright Jay Allen's one-man show *Two*, with Canadian actor Loren Allen in the title role of writer Thomas Caputo. As well, ATP's playbills festival, which launches four new Canadian plays every January, has grown into a national theatrical event, well-supported by energy companies.

The city's music scene is also on the rebound after suffering through hard times. The Calgary Philharmonic has survived a year financial crisis, and is midway through a successful season, due mainly to healthy box-office sales. At the month-and-a-half King Edward Hall for the King Eddy as it is always called, which has a distinctive design in a long hall, major U.S. blues acts including Clarence (Guitar) Brown and Robert (Johnny) Lockwood have drawn big crowds in recent weeks. A few blocks south on Elbow Avenue, a three-block cluster of brightly lit bars, restaurants and pubs, the city government is widening the sidewalks to accommodate the crowds

of young people who hang out on the street. On the downtown mall near the Bankers Hall after hours, as has for the past seven years despite temperatures as low as -40° C, banker Ted Wayne Wilson hangs out and his favorite stars, including Neeson (James) from *Prisoners of War*.

Although the upswing in the oil and gas industry has done much to revive spirits over the past year, most locals credit the 1984 Winter Olympics for Mtlg them out of the doldrums that followed the oil bust. With 15,740 volunteers involved, the Games were a personal triumph for many, as well as an incredible local production. The games also left behind a huge physical legacy—the \$28-million Stadio arena, a 400m indoor skating oval at the University of Calgary and a well-endowed Calgary Olympic Development Association to operate Canada's Olympic Park, site of six jumping and biathlon events, as well as an Olympic museum.

While the boom of the late 1970s brought big-city-style prosperity to Calgary, the subsequent bust gave the community its first taste of big-city-style poverty and hardship. The oil bust stretched the city's social programs to bursting point. And as thousands of migrants continued to pour into the city looking for jobs, the crime rate soared. Then Mayor Ralph Klein blamed the city's woes on crime and bums from Eastern Canada, a remark that heated him for the next decade. Increased salaries of the Mounties drew beer holders at him on one visit to their annual picnic.

Now, even after recent cutbacks at funding for social programs by the provincial government, the crime rate appears to be more slowly dropping in the business and others who are down on their back. Most of the late 1980s Food Bank collection benches around the city are already brimming with Christmas donations. The Mounted Sheriff's Ministry in 1988 took 200 people daily to the Calgary River, near the Bow River, but now for 120 to bed down nightly on mattresses on its floor.

Pollitically, Calgary has also undergone a dramatic transformation since the early 1980s. The remnants of the old Tory ruling class remain enmeshed in their wealthy provincial Calgary Golf and Country Club and club membership remains its top catch. But even before the Oct. 25 federal election, the power brokers were changing. Many local business leaders joined Reform party leader Preston Manning, head of Edmonton and new member of Parliament for once-Tory, blue-chip Calgary Southwest, to found a fresh bid. The mayor, Al Deen, is a Liberal lawyer candidate from Saskatoon whose wife, Rita Chin, was born in China. Among Calgary's once-dominant Tory politicians, Reform premier Peter Lougheed maintains his preeminence. On Nov. 26, 1988, he showed up for his last speech at an annual business awards luncheon sponsored by Oshkosh, an oil industry publication.

Sell, one of the most signs of Calgary's revival and renewed confidence in how its citizens live. Last week, the 11th World Cup campaign, hosted by the Olympic games, passed its \$15.5-million bid-making goal. As Larry McLeod, owner of the business and local businessman, put it: "We didn't need to win the Grey Cup. We're already winners."

JOHN ROWSE in Calgary



Electric Avenue: Calgary Stampeders flag a cluster of brightly lit bars and eateries.

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The 1994 Lumina Van

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A few years back, when we introduced the Lumina Van, it was clearly the most advanced design on the road. This year, the changes we've made are designed to keep it that way.

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Rumors of reconciliation

Expect more of this stuff with the approach of Dec. 3—the first anniversary of the separation of Prince Charles and Diana, Princess of Wales. Last week, Nigel Dempster, press-columnist and royal scold, wrote in the *London Evening Standard* "exclusively revealed" a report that a trust, we shall hear the hints at those royal watchers who still long for the salvation of Charles and Diana, is to be formed, formerly by the late Prince Charles. On the same page, Charles's cousin, Prince William, the Duke of Wales, the columnist, claiming "widespread interest," said that Diana has "changed her mind—she now wants a reconciliation" with Queen Elizabeth II's heir. Good news! But then *Could It Be* Parker Bowles, says Dempster, claiming that "the queen and her son-in-law and daughter-in-law be would react to

It's soon an obscuring a dinner from Diana, Missoula Police Bowles—only of last year's Camilleague subrogation, of which Ippolito surfaced of an unknown phone conversation allegedly between her and Charles—with him and another woman, a friend of the Australian newspaper, and a friend of a relative saying that she and husband Andrew **Bowles** had sex upon "marriage of convenience." And so the battle for Charles, Diana and Bowles had to be broken the upper and lower class, and the Queen has invited Diana to join the rest of the Royal Family for Christmas at Sandringham Castle. "If she accepts," pronounced the newspaper and, "we can almost guarantee that a reconciliation is in the works." But the news, could be for the Christmas peace.



Charles, Dean's Packer Bowler's Night: revealed

Viewing Atom Egoyan



In Paris, the streets view from the elevated 10th arrondissement's Concorde has changed. Now, there's the Eiffel Tower, the Arc de Triomphe—and a huge sign reading ADOM AGGONY UNIM this end of the year, the Jeu de Paume art gallery is capitalizing on French fascination with the Canadian director by running a retrospective of his films, which include *Family Business* and *My American Cousin*. "I'm not sure if it's the film or the sign's a growing popularity with his wife, artist Annette Khrushchy, Goppen said, but all the attention brought out the tourist in him: "When I saw the sign," explained the 39-year-old director, "I turned to Annette and said, 'We have to take a picture—to prove that it exists, to prove that we were here.'"

To add to the baffling, a French publisher has recently released a collection of essays on Goppen's films. "The book is a collection of essays on Goppen's films," says Agnès, "I'm not the best author on my own work."

From omelettes to America



Chief 'world leaders in good cooking'

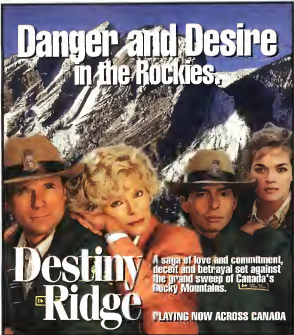
Julia Child has come a long way since her first appearance as public television's *Mrs. T* in Boston in 1965. On that occasion, she whipped up an omelette—a seemingly simple act of creation that led to a career as North America's best-known expert on classic French cuisine. For her efforts, the California-born Child has twice received awards from the National Order of Merit in 1976. Her latest book and its television series, both called *Cooking with Master Chef*, also celebrate the art of fine cooking, although the masters in this case are not in France but—*savoy May!*—in the United States. Explains Child in “Night now, I think I’ve got my American cooking down,” “I’m a great cook. I love it. I like the great chef’s tradition cooked to suit a waiter’s mood.” I think they’re too chauvinistic; even to eat?” she replies. “It doesn’t involve France, they’re not interested.

'Just call me Weird'

When I think about it at all stages. On his surreal-themed, dreamlike album, *Alphabets*, the singer broke *Madness's Take a Vacation* in *Life's a Struggle* smooth rhythms. *Amorambig*, country funk *It's All Yours* and even the movie *Johnny Rook*, with a new first song to the tune of *Madness's Take a Vacation*, the Los Angeles-based band of purely transports his sensibility to Toronto—"one of my favorite cities," he says—to co-host the nationally broadcast *Q107* radio rock shows. True, Yankovic's on-board sense of humor seems to drive a wedge in Canada—in these weeks, *Alphabets* has already gone gold. But respect is harder to come by from the West Coast. "I don't think I'm a very famous person," Yankovic says. "But was know what I answer to?"



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A vulnerable NBA hedges its bets

BY TRENT FRAVNE

A snag has been struck in the signing of the Americanization of sports in Canada. The usually hot-headed Canadians are turning out to be altogether too pragmatic and combative. The gutsy David Stern, the widely deified commissioner of the National Basketball Association, has threatened to cancel Toronto's recently granted NBA franchise.

Oh, dear. And just when Canada was getting over its most unimpaired in status and stature. The Canadian Football League was turning over another record, breaking its September first season, adding Las Vegas next. The National Hockey League was throwing its welcoming arms around newcomers in such key outposts as Miami and Anaheim, and Toronto had just landed that NBA franchise, the first granted outside the United States.

Not to forget the closing ranks. Squawk radio had reached its peak across the great untold border, enjoying an all-sports station in Toronto that now pays lip service, around the clock, attention to American football and basketball, both college and pro. Last winter, after a belated, New 10 day, the long-time University of Toronto Blues played Montreal's Concordia University in the national intercollegiate football semifinal. The *Globe and Mail*, the national newspaper, ranched out a line on that game: apart from a buried television 1800, while shipping was columnist Stephen Reiss to South Beach, Ind., for a feature on Notre Dame versus Florida State.

But then, and when the backers of Toronto's newly awarded NBA franchise were drawing their heads from spending a couple of hundred million bucks for a franchise and a shiny new arena, the commissioner was reminded that the Ontario government runs a lottery that is more than a sports lottery, including lotto games.

"Betting?" cried the czar. "Be basketball! Off with their heads!"

And, with an elaborate tip for diplomacy, the czar declared that, unless NBA games were included from the lottery, final approval

Stern knows that bettors who cannot bet legally will bet illegally, keeping money away from decent causes. So what's the problem?

of the Toronto franchise would not be given. This is a curious twist for Stern to choose, and certainly one that demeans Ontario's premier, Bob Rae. Rae is proud of the sports lottery, called Pro-Line, which his government introduced late in October, 1992. In its first year, it hauled \$201 million in bets in 5,500 outlets across the province and after winning bets and commissions to all-sports were paid, the profits about \$55 million, went to hospitals and social service agencies. The premier, who thinks of Ontario's lottery as similar to England's legal football pools, has the word of lottery officials that had the adult population in Ontario regularly buys tickets.

Accordingly, the election of the NBA star is justified. Stern knows, as well as the czar, that millions of dollars are bet on his league's games all winter—millions in Las Vegas where betting is legal and sanctioned millions with impenetrable bookmakers springing to service all their sports in the Caribbean. He knows, too, that when bettors are unable to bet legally they bet illegally, keeping money away from decent causes and using it to pay on yachts in the Caribbean. So what's the czar's problem?

One thing is true: it's money at his own. At 51,

David Stern could buy his own yacht, if he isn't already steering around Manhattan in it, this being the island upon which he was born and where his father ran a delicatessen. Four years ago, when the National Football League was looking for a commissioner to succeed Pete Rozelle, NBA owners grew concerned that the football people would hire Stern. So they gave him a five-year contract for \$27.5 million (U.S.) that included a \$10-million signing bonus.

Stern's concern apparently is related to a 1950s scandal involving college teams attempting cronyism to allegedly across such as New York City's Madison Square Garden. Players were charged with taking money from gamblers to manipulate scores, and although no such signifi- cance has ever been attached to the pro game, Stern wants to avoid any appearance of an involvement with betting.

Stern appears to be a formidable man to tangle with. If Bob Rae is thinking along that line, a listening piece in *Sports Illustrated* a couple of years ago said that "Stern, prods, he charms, he teases and when necessary he tries not to get his way." He has been praised for turning the NBA into the most glamorous entertainment agency in U.S. sports. Of course having those guys named Magic Johnson, Larry Bird and Michael Jordan performing through most of Stern's decade as czar hasn't hurt. Still, when he got the job the NBA was a shibboleth of a league that was dingy, faded, too black and too regional "the magazine said."

Stern, round and stocky, wears long hair and drives the hard left hand. He passed the NBA in 1979 as its first general counsel and moved up the ladder until Feb. 1, 1985, when he got the top job. He is loaded for maintaining a salary cap that made everybody rich, an agreement between management and players by which players get 55 per cent of the defined gross revenues of all teams, and the owners divide the remaining 45 per cent.

He signed successful promotional and marketing deals. Three years ago, when he negotiated the league's first-year, \$600-million (U.S.) television contract with NBC, he got the network to provide a live half-hour of action on Saturdays following the evening films of cartoons. To fill it, his entertainment department produced a series of NBA highlights, thereby selling the game to kids, the rising generation of fans.

Stern isn't opposed to all games. In 1985 he helped to devise one for the NBA's annual draft, in it the league's seven worst teams got a chance to pick first in the draft. Before that, the two worst teams flipped for the loss or the winner, the loser's poor team from losing deliberately late in a season in order to grab the first pick. That possibility arose in the National Hockey League last spring and a fine of \$100,000 was imposed upon the Ottawa Senators after a club official suggested that the team was continuing to flout the law.

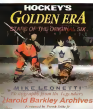
So they could claim the year's top junior prospect, Daley. The fine was levied by hockey's new commissioner, Gary Bettman, the former general counsel of the NBA, who learned his game at the knee of who else, David Stern. Americans, they're everywhere.

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The Gaelic revival

In song, dance, and language, Cape Breton is rediscovering its old-country Celtic roots

BY JOHN DEMORTY

On the tiny stage, an impassive white-haired man and an exuberant young blond woman bow their bodies in unison. The set piece is popular Celtic ballad, but on this November night the atmosphere seems more like that of a dance at a Cape Breton parish hall. Frilly-dressed senior citizens exchange the Gaelic greeting "Cianus a fua" ("How are you?") with black garbed, Sealed O'Connell look-alikes. How easy it comes to the mix, the crowd is united in its desire to hear the man on stage. At 60, Buddy MacMaster is the living embodiment of Cape Breton traditional fiddling, still turning off the young men and women who have captured crowds from Cremona to California. But of MacMaster represents the paradox of a rich revival tradition has never Natalie beards him in its future. "I'm just part of this mix, which seems to keep building," says 23-year-old Natalie during a break from the performance. MacMaster later, she matches her record vinyl particular note, a feat that makes the normally unimpassive MacMaster crack a smile.

Cresting onto those same notes echoed through the Scottish Highlands. Now they are commonplace in the rolling hills and gentle glens of Cape Breton where the music of the ancient Celts is undergoing a huge revival. Established musicians like Buddy MacMaster are finding new audiences for their traditional arrangements. More controversial Celtic performers such as Big Poof's Rita MacNeil and Mabel's The Boston Family will sell concerts and tap Canadian record charts. In their wake come a group of improbably young artists on the cusp of stardom. Yet something more profound than a musical renaissance is underway on the rugged island at the northeastern end of Nova Scotia. As increasing numbers of young Cape Breton



Buddy and Natalie MacMaster: the pinnacle of fiddling

ers rediscover their Scottish roots—staying everything from the Gaelic language to Scottish weaving—they are giving new life to a culture that once seemed on extinction. "It is our past and our heritage," explains Stephen Beatty, 18, a Malboro high school student who has been studying Gaelic for two years. "We need to keep it alive."

Along Route 10, which winds along the west coast of Cape Breton to the Cabot Trail, it seems that the old traditions could not be older. Inverness County is the center of the island's Celtic spirit: the ruins of the passing villages—Dunvegan, Glenora, Strathmore, Dunvegan—recall the thousands of Scots who arrived in the early 1800s after being uprooted during the centuries Highland clearances. And so does the stirring fiddle music that often flows out from the area's church halls.

With its lengthy unemployment lines and heightened economy, Cape Breton is hardly a classical Singapore. But the fiddlers and dancers of Inverness County stand as living examples of a style of music and dance that was lost centuries ago in the old country. And when Buddy MacMaster, the dean of Cape Breton fiddling, accepts invitations to perform and teach in Scotland, it is

as much to help his ancestral country rediscover its lost roots as to showcase his talent. "They seem to like it," says MacMaster, a quiet, compact man who taught himself to play by listening to other local musicians. "I guess there is more of a Celtic respect to the music here."

The fiddlers and relative isolation of Cape Breton all loved the old-country musical heritage to thrive until the mid-20th century. Archie Neil Chisholm, 35, who has lived all his life in Margate Park, a tight enclave from Route 10, says that some of his earliest memories are of Celtic music. Ancient traveling fiddlers often stayed at his family home, and musically inclined rough-beds used to drop in for impromptu kitchen sessions. Like many with Scottish roots, he boasts fiddlers, singers and dancers among his Celtic brothers and sisters. And despite his affliction with psoriasis, Chisholm himself because only a sought after fiddler but he once performed on 36 consecutive nights at house parties and outdoor Cape Breton hoedowns. "They paid \$1 a night, plus all you could drink," he recalled. "In those days I used to write up with a redhead in my pocket and a blue head."

Eventually, the 20th century began to erode Chisholm and other traditionalists watched in alarm as mass culture—particularly television and rock 'n' roll news—began to drown out the sounds of Celtic music. After decades of indifference, the turn of the century, according to many Cape Bretoners, was a 20th-century revival called The Revivaling Cape Breton Fiddle, which featured the legendary fiddler and composer Dan MacDonnell. The film acted as a call to arms: join forces to nurture Cape Breton's unique culture, or risk losing it altogether. Within a year, community efforts had banded together to launch the Glendale Festival, which brought together fiddlers from on and off the island. The August festival, which gave many young people their first real exposure to the music, continues to this day in the Cape Breton Fiddlers Festival.

At the same time, Celtic influence on pop music grew con-

Mining for history

The white wooden Strathmore on the east coast of Cape Breton held 20 years of memories for Ronald Caplan. But there was no time to mourn when his 140-year-old home joined to the ground in July. The next issue of Cape Breton's Magazine, the journal of photographs and oral history that he had been publishing from his home since 1974, was only three weeks from the printer's shop. Setting up in a trendy Sydney house, Caplan met the deadline. And it "seems as usual," he says, as he scrambles to complete the next issue from the same makeshift office while his home is rebuilt. Exploring his determination, the novelist, free-lance publisher says: "You get up every day. You take care of what you love and you try to make it work." Without that sustaining philosophy, Caplan might never have marked this improbable resurgence—let alone made it the unconventional success it is today.

Caplan is a transplanted American, now 64, who landed into his role as custodian of Cape Breton's oral culture. In 1971, he was working as a book designer in Pittsburgh, Pa., when he left in search of a new life and found one in West Cove, a tiny hamlet on the eastern edge of Cape Breton. To feed his wife and two children, he decided to start a publication that, according to the first issue, would be "devoted to the history, natural history and culture of Cape Breton Island." Since then, working essentially alone, he has built the magazine's circulation to 8,000, with subscribers in North America, Europe and Asia. And he has bristled out into book publishing and producing recordings of Cape Breton music. In 1980, Caplan, among other honors he has collected, became the first person outside the Gaelic community to receive an award for contributing to Cape Breton's Gaelic culture. Robert Morgan, chief architect of the Breton Institute, the island's principal archives, concludes, "We have democratized history, by taking it away from the scholars and making it accessible to the ordinary public."

Published four times a year, the magazine consists of newspaper pages sandwiched between glossy black-and-white covers that feature the proprietor's own portrait photographs of islanders. Last year, the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia awarded a selection of them for an 18-month exhibit that travelled around the province. In more than 800 interviews that he has conducted, Caplan's technique has been the same: turn on the tape recorder and let ordinary people talk about their lives in their own words. The results have been remarkable. For the past 21 years, the magazine has run sections: transcripts of long black-and-white chats—poignant, insightful and sometimes strange tales about everything from life in the coal mines to encounters with the supernatural. Decades Caplan "I have one great advantage—even something which is extremely commensurate for there is fresh and exciting for me." And although most of the stories are in English, Caplan uses the help of translators to conduct and publish interviews in French, Gaelic and Micme.

The magazine provides Caplan with only a modest living, even with his sparse lifestyle. But, he says, his rewards are less tangible. "I have always been interested in history and poetry and in Cape Breton I have found some of both."

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THE ARTS

monically in the 1980s, with bands like Treblehead. The Pujos among traditional and pop strains into a unique blend. Fiddle music, once considered hopelessly rural, became almost fashionable. "It is hard to point to a single factor," said Stan Chipewen, a respected fiddle teacher who lives in Antigonish, on the Nova Scotia mainland. "But the music has come back stronger than ever."

These days, Cape Breton's community halls, parlors and classrooms are filled with future Bens & MacDonnells and Buddy MacMasters. Most workshops at the church hall in Cansimouth—20 km from the Chatham Cansimouth, which connects the island to the mainland—a group of students aged 9 to 15 mix through tunes and reels under Stephanie Wilby's watchful eye. "The amount of interest in unpolished, explains the 20-year-old musician, who was just eight when she fell under the instrument's spell. "All of a sudden everybody seems to want to pick up the fiddle."

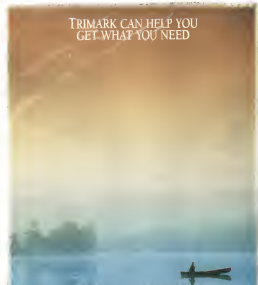
In fact, all things Celtic are increasingly popular. The Celtic studies program at Saint Francis Xavier University, in Antigonish, on the Nova Scotia mainland, has grown steadily, this year enrolling its highest first-year enrolment ever. In Baddeck, mainland at St. Anne's Gaelic College of Celtic Arts and Crafts—which offers courses in everything from Gaelic weaving to bagpipes—enrollment has doubled to 200 students from 100 last year. Angus MacKenzie, 15, a Mabou native who was a 1992 North American piping champion, declares: "Nobody fails the pipes word anymore."

The same could be said of the language of his forebears, which is making a surprising comeback. Just 150 years ago, Cape Breton's 30,000 Gaelic speakers outnumbered those found in the Hebrides Islands off the coast of Scotland. But most Cape Bretoners didn't do so well at the "Gaelic" from their young parents. "These people in their 40s to 50s were forbidden to speak the language," explains Margie Benson, a Mabou school teacher who has taught the ancient language since 1975. "It was looked down upon and considered as something which would keep you back."

Now, that stigma is gone. And Benson, who was born on the Hebrides Island of Eriskay and spoke Gaelic as her first language, notices a resurgence of her mother tongue. When the class she taught at the local high school was cancelled in 1980 due to budgetary restrictions, she still found enough teenage students to organize the Gaelic class after school hours. And language courses are fully booked at St. Anne's Gaelic College in Baddeck. Another sign of the times: An tonight, a quarterly Mabou newspaper about Gaelic language and Irish has 16,000 subscribers, more than any other and is just one of a number of enterprises hoping to emphasize on the Celtic cause.

As hopeful as the signs are, no one is taking anything for granted—least of all pipe Angus MacKenzie's parents, Marjorie and

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And, of course, there are the young Cape Breton folkies, who are making the old Scottish music in new direc-

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THE ARTS

Robert. The couple met in 1992 when MacIsaac left her Malibu home to explore her Gaelic heritage on the outer Hebrides island of South Uist, where Robert was born and raised. Now back in Malibu, they and their four children try to speak only Gaelic at home. "Once you lose the language, everything else in the culture eventually goes with it," declares MacIsaac.

But if the language of the Celts is slowly disappearing in contemporary Cape Breton life, Celtic music is everywhere. And its brightest stars still live in the area, are providing something to the orphans in a region used to watching its sons and daughters head down the road in search of prosperity. Big Pond songstress Rita MacNeil appears in some of the world's largest concert halls performing a mix of pop and traditional songs. And Malibu's Beaville Family—Raylene, Heather, Cooke, Julia Morris and Jimmy—represent something even more different: genuine stars who have dug deeply into their Celtic culture as they rose to the top.

Eighteen Beaville, 20, is one of 13 children in the family and a graduate of Malheur Uni-

versity's fine program. "We grew up like most families in Inverness County," she says. "Our parents had an appreciation for the music and we were never separated from any gatherings where music was being played." Rooted firmly in those musical tradi-

tions is *It's No Ninjas Don't Shredhead* (It's No My Not Brown Mashed), most platinum with sales of 100,000 within eight days of its September release.

Successes are already lining up. The most likely candidates: The Barr MacNeils, four siblings from Sydney Mines, on the eastern, unincorporated side of Cape Breton. After a series of independently produced recordings, the group recently released *Good to Be Alive*, its first album for a major label, PolyGram. Celtic-themed groups from elsewhere in the Maritimes, such as Bonanza Creek of Halifax and Newfoundland's The Irish Descendants, are also making a name.

And, of course, there are the young Cape Breton folkies, who are making the old Scottish music in new directions. Notable among them is Natalie MacMaster and Ashley MacIsaac, 23, both of whom have performed throughout North America and Europe.

Says Archie Chisholm, "I don't know if it is something in the water around Route 10, but I've never seen so many good folkie players as there are around here." True, it is good music. □



With right with student, the need to safeguard a heritage.

ties, the group now on tour in Europe and the British Isles, has emerged as one of Canada's freshest acts, their 1990 album *Raw The Road Low* making up sales of more than 200,000. And their latest recording, *North Country*, which includes such Gaelic

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BOOKS

Bad war, good food



Stenzberg: radio created a bond with the listener

THE SOUND OF WAR

By Peter Stenzberg

(University of Toronto Press, 312 pages, \$32)

It was only with the Second World War that radio became a serious news medium. Before: live, radio—public and private—looked its own station from The Canadian Press wire service, a creature of the country's newspapers if it did not steal from the papers directly. Peter Stenzberg's *The Sound of War* is the history of an actual live radio moment—a rare thing at the time, like what to wear carrying a microphone not much smaller than the head of a basketball player. After a spell in Berlin,

a hero's moment of action, came from the German side, Stenzberg's work as a war correspondent with the Allied invasion of Sicily in July, 1943. The landing was unexpected (by the bugs by night were bad). The bug details are indicative of the personal quality of the *The Sound of War*. It is a memoir more about the war correspondent than the war, although there are bits of tra-

scripts of broadcasts, which clearly would have been effective on air. He says in his preface that radio was "a new kind of journalism, much more personal and revealing, taking war by means of anxious listeners over vast distances to the very scene of the action, the battlefield itself."

Perhaps, Stenzberg undoubtedly created a bond between reporter and listener that print could not equal. That radio did not convey the sight and smell and feel of war any more graphically than print. Except for the crash of his gun fired on more or less distant targets—the shelling sound effects of war—the listener was still dependent on a narrator to relate what went on. In fact, the great reporter, less remembered by heavy equipment, may have been able to go where the radio reporter could not.

In the Persian Gulf War, there was much grating by correspondents that the military kept them too far from the fighting. That overlooked the fact that, with always by restrictions that often became, most correspondents covered most wars from headquarters briefings, where the big picture was to be observed. Stenzberg does not pretend that a war correspondent lived a life of unbridled heroism, or that he himself had no eye for his own survival. Soon after the Allied landing in the south of France, he and a colleague found their way to Cannes where "we made for one of the great hotels, the Miramir. There, he writes, the manager 'insisted on my having what looked like the hotel suite.' The next morning, they departed early—very early—because the manager expected to be paid. 'We were not used to paying, we had not paid, when Kewer was liberated, and we were not going to pay here. In my case, we had no money.'"

And in Rome, he blithely recalls parties "on the basis of the Times, in which the girls brought basket lunches and bottles of wine, and danced in various ways." And of the companionable "bushy" that they were a "glibly slight, the Italian as a person while their wives were coping being the girls." All that, and his bylines as counts in his diary of the great could be as along the way. *The Sound of War* is a good read—but then I have always thought that, too, of the Michelin travel guides.

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BOOKS

Nervy Nellie

*A leading suffragette was
irrepressible to the end*

FINDING THE HEATHER: THE LIFE
AND TIMES OF NELLIE MCCLUNG
By Mary Hallett and Marilyn Davis
(Fifth House, 266 pages, \$26.95)

As a child playing on her parents' Ontario farm, Nellie McClung often entertained her Irish father, John, with imitations of her mother's stately Scottish aunts. The laughter usually subsided, however, when her disapproving mother appeared. Nellie McClung's sense of propriety often frustrated her daughter. But according to *Finding the Heather*, a biography of Canada's best-known suffragette, Nellie McClung carried with her character traits from both parents. In fact, authors Marilyn Davis and the late Mary Hallett argue that their subject's combination of humor and backbone made her so ideal a crusader on behalf of women.

Born in 1873 in Charlton Place, Ont., McClung was a true pioneer. The last of six children, she taught at one from Manitoba schoolhouses until she earned pharmacology Wesley McClung in 1896. The hardness of prairie life helped shape her social conscience. And the demands of raising four sons and a daughter fueled her determination to women's emancipation. She produced 18 popular novels and nonfiction collections, and became one of North America's most sought-after speakers. McClung helped women achieve the vote in Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1916. Five years later, she joined the Alberta legislature as an opposition Liberal. And in 1929, in the famous "person" case, she and four others won women the right to be appointed to the Senate.

Finding the Heather succeeds best when it captures McClung's magnetic personality. Less satisfying is the account of the shadow in her life. She was a vigorous opponent of alcohol, yet several of her children reportedly had alcohol problems—something that is passed over in a paragraph. Her eldest son, Jack, an Alberta lawyer, committed suicide in 1944. She took refuge in hard work, continuing to write almost until her death in 1951 at the age of 77. As *Finding the Heather* makes clear, Nellie McClung was irrepressible to the end.

BARBARA CHENOWETH

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